

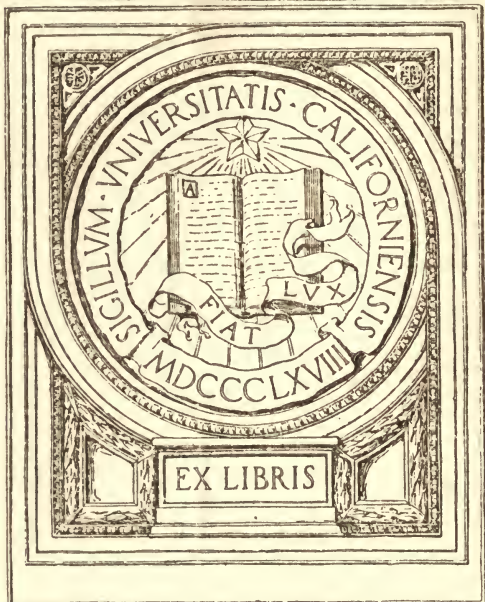
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THE
BOOK OF THE COLONIES;

COMPRISING

A HISTORY OF THE COLONIES

COMPOSING

THE UNITED STATES,

FROM

THE DISCOVERY IN THE TENTH CENTURY UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

COMPILED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES,

BY JOHN FROST, LL.D.,

Author of the "Book of the Army," and "Book of the Navy."

HARTFORD:
BELKNAP AND HAMERSLEY,
1849.

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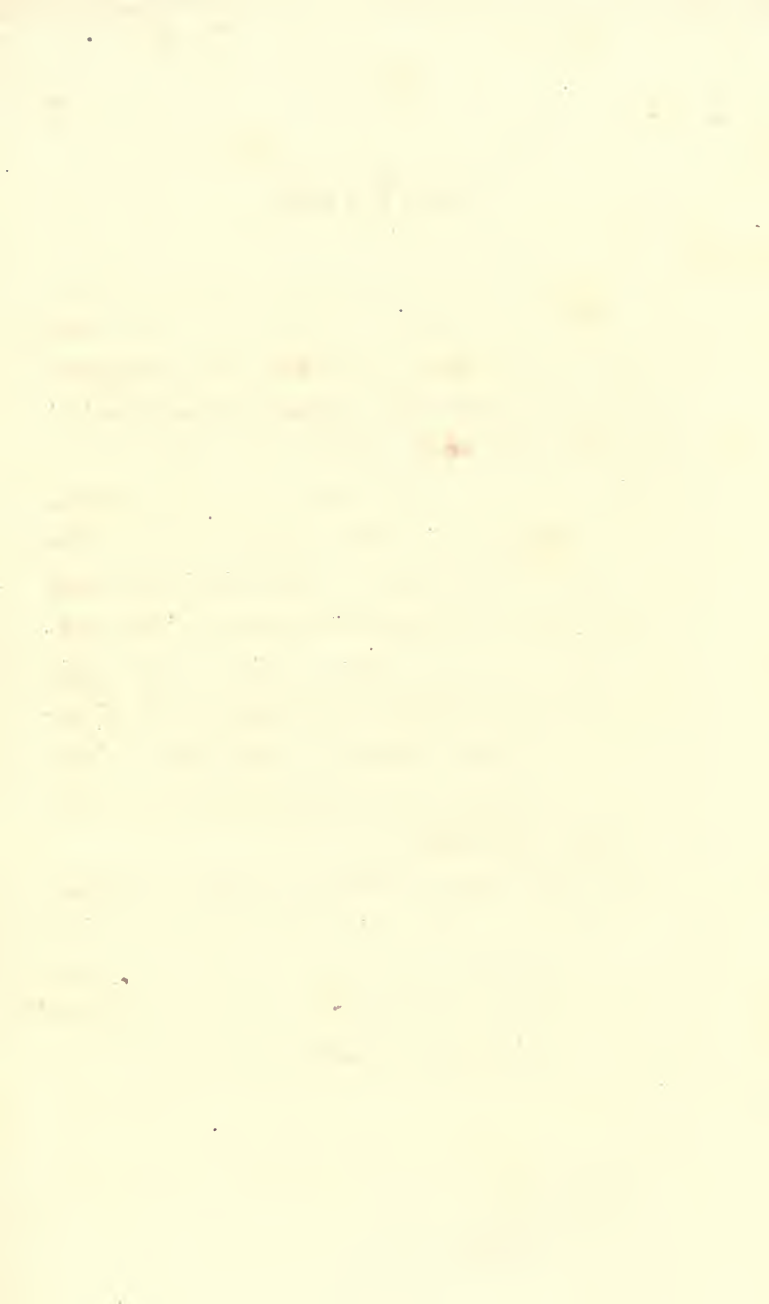
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P R E F A C E .

A FRIEND, who is so kind as to express a favourable opinion respecting the "*Book of the Navy*" and the "*Book of the Army*," suggested the propriety of completing the series by a "*Book of the Colonies*." As the two former works present a view of the naval and military history of the country from the declaration of independence to the present time, and the *Book of the Colonies* gives a general history, from the earliest times to the commencement of the revolutionary war; we have thus a review of the main current of history through the whole period of our colonial and national existence; while each of the volumes is a complete and distinct work, having its proper subject and unity.

This present work is chiefly drawn from Murray, whose chapters on the colonization of the United States are written with great care, with access to a first-rate collection of authorities, and in a spirit of intelligent liberality, as admirable as it is rare.

(3)



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Sebastian Cabot.

CHAPTER I.

THE NORTHMEN—COLUMBUS—THE CABOTS.



FOR many ages, the honour of having first reached the transatlantic continent, by sailing from Europe, was awarded to Columbus. But that honour seems now likely to be wrested from him by the Northmen, whose claim to a prior discovery, never relinquished by the Icelandic scholars, has been recently revived, and powerfully supported, by the Royal Society of Antiquaries, at Copenhagen. They base the claim of the Northmen upon

the facts recorded by the Icelandic authorities, a summary of which is here given. The Scandinavians were the best navigators in the world, their skill in nautical science being shown by the undisputed fact, that their vessels were to be seen, at the same time, in every sea, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, from the extremity of Finland Gulf to the entrance of Davis's Straits. As pirates and rovers, they, at a very remote period, discovered in the Orkney Islands a secure retreat from the storms and tempests of the north seas, as well as from the arms of the enraged people whom they had surprised and plundered. When these pirates were no longer tolerated in Norway, the Orkneys became their perpetual abode. Hence originated those formidable expeditions which ravaged every coast, from the south of Ireland to the extremity of the Gulf of Finland.

In 888, Harold Harfager, the great conqueror of Norway, sent a powerful armament into these seas, with a view to suppress their ravages. From this period the Orkneys, the Shetland Isles, and the Hebrides, began to assume an important part in the transactions of the north. Iceland was known to the Irish missionaries before it was discovered by Norwegians, but they found it uninhabited in the year 861. It was then accidentally discovered by Naddod, who named it Snoeland; but who did not know that it was an island. In the following year it was visited by a Swede; and in 863, the Norwegian Floki sailed to the new found territory, with a design to found there a colony; but the mysterious quaking of the ground troubled him, and he resolved to return to Norway. His followers, however, gave a favourable account of the island; they praised its fish, its climate, and its soil. "It was," said they "a place where men might live in freedom, far away from kings and jarls."

In 874, Ingulf, the son of a Norwegian jarl, having slain his adversary, fled from the consequences of his act, to Iceland, where he, with his brother-in-law, Jorleif, founded colonies.

Many new emigrations from the parent country followed, the people being weary of their tyrannical rulers, and anxious to live in a country where no kings, no jarls were to be found. The feuds of the nobles, also, caused many additions to the number of the emigrants. Thus Jorwald, a Norwegian jarl, was compelled to leave his country. He fled to Iceland, where, after his death, his son, Eric Randa (the Red), becoming involved in a quarrel, killed his adversary. He was obliged to leave Iceland, but dared not return to Norway on account of the ill-feeling there entertained for his family. Some adventurers had discovered a new land to the south-west. Eric sailed in that direction, and found a small island, in a strait, which he named Eric's Sund. Passing the winter here, he explored the main-land, in the spring, and finding it covered with a delightful verdure, he named it Gronland, or Greenland. He soon returned to Iceland, where he succeeded in collecting a number of colonists, whom he established in the newly-discovered land.

In 999, Leif, the son of Eric, repaired to Norway, where he succeeded in interesting the reigning monarch, Olaf Trygvesson, in the fate of the colony. Olaf had recently been converted to Christianity; and in his zeal for his new religion, he either forced or persuaded Leif to be baptized, and caused a missionary to accompany him on his return to Greenland. The holy father introduced his religion among the Norwegians, but met with no success in his attempts to convert the natives. The latter always cherished a hatred of the colonists; and when, even after three centuries, the dreadful black plague, in 1348, had thinned their numbers, the natives became involved in a feud with the remainder, and totally exterminated them. Not a vestige remains of that colony, nor is it clearly ascertained in what part of the coast it was located.

Herjulf and his son Bjarne were engaged in trading between Iceland and Norway, in which latter country they usually wintered. One season, their vessels being, as usual, divided

for the greater convenience of traffic, Biarne did not find his father in Norway, but was informed that he had proceeded to the newly-discovered country of Greenland. Biarne had never visited that country; but he steered westward for many days, until a strong north wind bore him considerably to the south. After a long voyage, he arrived in sight of a low woody country, which, compared with the description he had received of the other, and from the route he had taken, could not, he was sure, be Greenland. Proceeding to the north-west, he arrived safely at Greenland, having seen an island at a distance during the voyage. He found his father established at the promontory, afterwards called Herjulsnoes, opposite the south-west point of Iceland. In the following summer Biarne made another voyage to Norway, where he told his adventures to the jarl Eric, who reproached him for not landing on the strange coasts.

Biarne returned to his father in Greenland, where much speculation concerning the newly-discovered lands had occupied the attention of the people. Leif, son of Eric Randa, a restless adventurer, was excited to emulate the fame his father had acquired by the discovery of Greenland. Having persuaded thirty-five mariners, as daring as himself, he purchased Biarne's ship, and requested his father to become the commander of the enterprise. The infirmity of his old age, which rendered him unable to bear the fatigues of a sea voyage, was assigned by Eric as a reason for his refusal. Leif, however, by his importunity, persuaded his father to embark, but as he was riding to the vessel, his horse stumbled, and Eric conceiving it to be an evil omen, absolutely refused to proceed. "I do not believe," said the old man, "that it is given to me to discover any more lands, and here will I abide." Eric returned to his house, and Leif set sail with his thirty-five companions, one of whom was a native of one of the south countries, named Tyrker (Diederich—Dirk), a German, who had long been attached to the family of Eric. Sailing in the direction named by Biarne, they came to what they supposed to be one of the

countries discovered by that mariner, the coast of which was a flat, stony land, and the back ground crowned with lofty mountains, covered with ice and snow. This country, which must have been Newfoundland or Labrador, they named Helluland. Sailing towards the south, they soon came to another coast, also flat, covered with thick wood, and the shores of white sand, gradually sloping towards the sea. Here they cast anchor, and went on shore. They named the country, which was probably Nova Scotia, Markland, or the Country of the Wood, and pursued their voyage, with a north-east wind, for two days and nights, when they discovered a third land, the northern coast of which was sheltered by an island. Here they again landed, and found a country, not mountainous, but undulating and woody, and abounding with fruits and berries, delicious to the taste. From thence they re-embarked, and made sail to the west to seek a harbour, which they at last found at the mouth of a river, where they were swept, by the tide, into the lake from which the river issued. They cast anchor and pitched tents at this spot, and found the river and lake full of the largest salmon they had ever seen. Finding the climate very temperate, and the soil fruitful in pasturage, they determined to build huts, and pass the winter here. The days were nearer of an equal length than in Greenland or Iceland, and when they were at the shortest, (December 21,) the sun rose at half-past seven, and set at half-past four o'clock. If this computation be correct, they must have been in the latitude of Boston.

It happened one day, soon after their arrival, that Tyrker, the German, was missing, and as Leif set a great value upon him, on account of his skill in various arts, he made great search for him. When, at length, they discovered him, he began to inform them, in the Teutonic tongue, of some great discovery he had made. After much difficulty, they understood that he had found wild grapes a few miles from the shore. No doubt could exist concerning the nature of the fruit, as the

German assured them that he was well acquainted with it. Leif, therefore, named the country Vinland, or Wine-Land. The following spring they returned to Greenland.

The next chief that visited Vinland was Thorwald, another son of Eric, the Red. Not being satisfied with the discoveries made by his brother, he obtained from him his ship, and with thirty companions set out on a new voyage of discovery. He proceeded to the coast, and wintered in the huts which Leif had erected. In the spring, he manned a large boat with part of his crew, and proceeded along the coast to the westward, which he found a pleasant country, well wooded, the shores consisting of banks of white sand, and a chain of islands, running along the coast, separated from each other by shallow inlets, but no trace of human inhabitants, except a cornshed of wood. After spending the summer in this excursion, they returned to their winter quarters. In the following summer, Thorwald sailed in his ship to examine the east and north, but was cast on shore by a storm, and the whole season was lost in repairing the vessel. Here he erected the keel of his ship, which was no longer fit for service, on a head-land, which he called, from that circumstance, Kigalarnes, and which was, in all probability, Cape Cod. He then pursued his voyage to the eastward until he came to a large inlet, where he cast anchor, attracted by the promising appearance of the country, which rose in high lands, covered with thick wood. Here the adventurers disembarked; and Thorwald declared, "This is a goodly place, here will I take up my abode." Shortly afterwards, the adventurers descried, on the shore, three small batteaux, made of hides, under each of which was a band of three Skroellings, or dwarfs, which is the name given by the Northmen to the Esquimaux.

A contest ensued, which resulted in the death of eight of the Skroellings, the ninth being fortunate enough to escape to the interior. He soon returned with a host of his countrymen, who immediately advanced to attack the adventurers. Thor-

wald commanded his men to make a bulwark by setting up barks against the sides of the vessel. None of the crew were wounded, and the natives retired, after delivering a shower of arrows. Thorwald himself, however, received a mortal wound, and said to his companions, "I now advise you to prepare for your departure as soon as possible; but me ye shall bring to the promontory, where I thought it good to dwell. It may be that it was a prophetic word which fell from my mouth, about abiding there for a season. There shall ye bury me, and plant a cross at my head, and another at my feet, and call the place Krossaness, in all coming time." The survivors passed the winter in Vinland, and in the spring returned to Greenland with the news of their discoveries, and of the melancholy fate of Thorwald.

Eric left another son named Thorstein, who, with his wife Gudrida, and twenty-five companions, undertook the voyage, principally for the pious purpose of bringing home the body of his lamented brother. Their expedition was unsuccessful. After being beaten about by contrary winds the whole summer, they at last reached a part of the coast of Greenland, far distant from that at which the colony of the Northmen was established. Here Thorstein perished, and Gudrida returned home with his body. She soon after married a man of illustrious birth and great wealth, named Thorfinn, who had come to Greenland from Iceland with two ships, one of which was commanded by himself, the other by Biarne Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason. Thorfinn was urged by his wife, and other members of the family, to undertake a voyage to the newly-discovered country. With sixty companions, some domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and an abundance of dried provisions, he proceeded to the coast where Thorwald had died. He was accompanied by his wife Gudrida, and five other women. This was the first attempt to effect a permanent settlement in Vinland. He erected his tents, and surrounded them with a strong palisade to resist the assaults of the natives.

They came in the spring, in great numbers, to offer peltries and other produce for such commodities as the strangers would spare. Above all, they desired arms, which Thorfinn would not permit to be sold. One of them, however, seized an axe, and ran off to show his prize to his companions. To try its virtues, he struck one that stood near him; and the latter, to the horror of all present, fell dead at his feet. One of the natives, who, by his commanding air and manner seemed to be a chief, took the axe, and after examining it for some time with great attention, threw it indignantly into the sea.

After a residence of three years in Vinland, during which time he had a son born to him, and whom he named Snorre, Thorfinn returned to his native country, with specimens of the fruit and peltries he had collected. After making several voyages, he finished his days in Iceland, where he built a large mansion, and lived in great splendour. A part of Thorfinn's company still remained in Vinland, where they were afterwards joined by an expedition from the Greenland colony, led by two brothers, Helge and Finnboge.

But the new settlers were unfortunately accompanied by a treacherous and wicked woman, Freydisa, daughter of Eric, the Red; who, in a short time, excited a quarrel, which proved fatal to about thirty of the colonists. After this tragic occurrence, Freydisa returned to her paternal home in Greenland, where she lived and died the object of universal contempt and hatred.

Towards the close of the reign of Olaf, the Saint, who died in 1030, Gudleif made a trading voyage from Iceland to Dublin. Returning along the western coast of Ireland, he met with heavy gales from the east and north, which drove him far into the ocean, towards the south-west. After many days, he saw land in that direction; and, approaching the shore, cast anchor in a convenient harbour. Here the natives, who were dark-coloured, approached them, made them prisoners, and carried them into the interior. Here they were met by a venerable chieftain, of a noble and commanding aspect, and fair com-



Biorn's Presents.

plexion, who spoke Icelandic, and inquired after Snorre, Gode, and other individuals then living on the island. The natives were divided in opinion, whether they should put them to death or make them slaves. After some consultation, the white chieftain informed them that they were at liberty to depart, and advised them to make no delay, as the natives were cruel to strangers. He refused to tell his name; but gave to Gudleif presents of a gold ring for Snorre's sister, Thurida, and a sword for her son. Gudleif returned to Iceland with these gifts, where it was conjectured that he was the famous Scald Biorn, who had been the lover of Thurida, and who had left Iceland in the year 998.

No subsequent traces of the Norman colony, in America, are to be found until the year 1059, when an Irish or Saxon priest, named Jon, or John, went from Ireland to Vinland, to preach Christianity. He met, however, with a tragical end,—a proof, says Dunham, in his *Scandinavian History*, that if any of the original settlers had been Christians, they had reverted to idolatry. A bishop of Greenland afterwards, 1121, embarked for Vinland, where he hoped to spread the gospel; but nothing further is known of his expedition, or the fate of the colony.

The authenticity of the Icelandic accounts of the discovery and settlement of Vinland were recognised in Denmark, says the learned author of the *History of the Northmen*,* shortly after this period, by king Svend Estrithson, commonly called Sweno II, in a conversation with Adam of Bremen. But no further mention of them is made in the national annals, and it may appear doubtful what degree of credit is due to the relations of the Venetian navigators, the two brothers Zeni, who are said to have sailed, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, in the service of a Norman prince of the Orcades, to the coast of New England, Carolina, and even Mexico; or, at least, to have collected authentic accounts of voyages as far west and south as these countries. The land discovered and peopled by the Norwegians, is called by Antonio Zeni, *Estotoland*; and he states, among other particulars, that the princes of the country still had in their possession Latin books, which they did not understand, and which were probably those left by the bishop Eric, during his mission.

Supposing, continues Mr. Wheaton, these latter discoveries to be authentic, they could hardly have escaped the attention of Columbus, who had himself navigated in the Arabic seas, but whose mind dwelt with such intense fondness upon his favourite idea of finding a passage to the East Indies, across the western ocean, that he might have neglected these indications of the existence of another continent, in the direction pursued by the Venetian adventurers. At all events, there is not the slightest reason to believe that the illustrious Genoese was ac-

* Wheaton's *History of the Northmen*, p. 16—31. It is to this able writer that we are indebted for many of the particulars of the above account of the discoveries of the Northmen. In addition to his able history, the work of S. A. Dunham, "*The History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway*;" "*The History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North*," by J. Reinhold Foster; *The New York Review*, Governor Everett in the *North American Review*, and the leading British Reviews have been consulted and occasionally quoted.

quainted with the discovery of North America, by the Normans, five centuries before his time; however well authenticated that fact now appears to be by the Icelandic records, to which we have referred.

The colony established by them probably perished in the same manner with the ancient establishments in Greenland. Some faint traces of its existence may, perhaps, be found in the relations of the Jesuit missionaries, respecting a native tribe in the district of Gaspé, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, who are said to have attained a certain degree of civilization, to have worshipped the sun, and observed the position of the stars. Others revered the symbol of the cross, before the arrival of the French missionaries, which, according to their tradition, had been taught them by a venerable person, who cured, by this means, a terrible epidemic which raged among them.

The discovery of America, by the Northmen, is not considered as detracting, in the least, from the merit of Columbus's discovery, who cannot be supposed to have had any suspicion that the northern region, of which he might possibly have heard in Iceland, was identical with the Indies, which it was his grand object to reach.

He was born in Genoa, about the year 1435. Little of his early history is known, except that, in his youth, he was sent to Pavia to prosecute his scholastic studies. There he was noted for rapid progress in geometry, astronomy, and cosmography; but soon relinquished his studies and embarked in a naval career. During many succeeding years, he was engaged in long voyages, and became the most experienced navigator of his age. The trade with the East Indies had been chiefly carried on by land; and it was the desire of Columbus to find a more direct route to India. He had early conceived the possibility of discovering a western passage, and his theory was supported by many interesting facts. Pieces of wood, nicely carved, had been found by navigators floating in the western waters, together with canes and plants unknown to Europeans. The

bodies of men, of strange colour, and unusual appearance, were thrown upon the Azores. These facts strengthened his opinion, and he determined to seek a new passage, in a westerly direction. For this purpose, he applied for means to fit out an expedition, to King John II, of Portugal; but his proposals to that monarch were rejected. He next applied to the sovereigns of Spain, and at first was not listened to. He was about leaving the country in disgust, when a messenger from Queen Isabella overtook him, and he returned to Seville. The articles of agreement, by which Columbus was to undertake the voyage, were signed, and on the 12th of May, 1492, he proceeded to Palos to prepare the armament. Three vessels only, of inconsiderable size, were allowed him, such as, at the present day, would be considered quite unfit for a voyage across the Atlantic. The whole cost of the expedition was twenty thousand dollars, and the number of persons engaged in it no more than one hundred and twenty.

On the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus set sail from Palos, and directed his course to the Canary Islands. There he was delayed some time, in consequence of injury done to one of his vessels; this having been repaired, he, on the 6th of September, left the Canaries, and proceeded over unknown waters, in quest of a new region. On the second day, the fleet lost sight of land, and the crews now seem to have become aware of their real situation, and the boldness of the enterprise. They soon began to murmur; but the admiral consoled them, and inspired them with fresh courage. He made daily observations on the sun, and for the first time, observed the variation of the needle. This phenomenon caused alarm to the crews, which Columbus removed by a plausible theory, of his own invention. On the 15th, they were three hundred leagues distant from the Canary Islands, having had, since their departure, a brisk east wind. In consequence of this wind, the seamen supposed it impossible for them ever to return to their own country; but their hopes were revived by the appearance of birds, which never departed

far from land, and the sea appeared covered with plants; these facts seemed to convince the men that land was not far distant. After this period, there were many signs of land, which another day were dispelled. Multitudes of birds were seen flying about, giving fresh hopes to the murmuring seamen. Columbus kept the secret of the distance they had come, from his men, for the crews were extremely uneasy at the length of the voyage, and became desirous of returning. They encountered many storms during the voyage, as well as fearful calms, both of which caused great alarm to the terrified crews. These calms, together with great quantities of sea-weed, retarded the progress of the vessels, and the seamen became restless and clamorous. Columbus used all his influence with them; he argued, expostulated, and made promises; but these only rendered them more boisterous. A heavy swell of the sea, accompanied by a gentle breeze, removed the fears which the previous dead calms had excited.

On the 25th of September, a shout came from the Pinta, announcing the approach to land; this was occasioned by large clouds in the horizon, having, to the eager eyes of the seamen, the appearance of land in the distance. Similar appearances were afterwards witnessed, and when these symptoms vanished, the crews again desponded. Numerous flocks of birds were seen flying in particular directions; this led the crews to suppose that land was near; and, accordingly, they desired the admiral to sail for those shores, which they believed to exist in those directions. But the admiral still persisted in his westerly course, when again the spirit of revolt among the men, became more formidable than ever. Columbus, during the whole of their proceedings, remained calm and collected, and forgot not his station. A few days after, their hopes were once more revived by birds which flew close about the ships.

On the 7th, land appeared visible from the Santa Maria, and the Nina fired many guns, and hoisted her flags. Again the care-worn mariners were doomed to a grievous disappointment,



Landing of Columbus.

for what they supposed to be land, gradually disappeared, leaving them in absolute despair. On the 11th, however, the indications of land became more certain; reeds were seen floating about; trunks of trees, rudely carved, and branches of trees were taken up by the crew of the *Nina*. The sea was sounded, and bottom found; the wind was changeable, and when night came, Columbus gave orders for a strict watch to be kept. About 10 o'clock in the evening, while Columbus was seated on the poop of his vessel, he thought he saw through the gloom ahead, a light, which appeared to move from place to place. Still doubting the evidence of his own senses, he called Pedro Gutierrez, and afterwards, Roderigo Sanchez, who both con-

firmed Columbus's vision. It was considered as evidence of land, and also, that it was inhabited. Early on the morning of the 12th, a gun fired from the *Pinta*, gave the joyful signal of land; and when the day broke, they beheld before them, a beautiful island, clothed in verdure. The vessels, at sunrise, steered towards it, and beheld the inhabitants running naked upon the strand. Columbus gave the signal to anchor; the boats were lowered. The admiral, attired in the richest scarlet, entered his own boat, and was the first to tread upon the soil of the New World. Throwing himself upon the earth, he kissed it, as did his followers, and then returned thanks to God for the success of the enterprise. The island was taken possession of in the name of the Castilian sovereigns.

The course of Columbus had led him to Guanahani, one of the eastern Bahamas, thence to Hispaniola; and in his subsequent researches, still farther towards the south and west.

In 1497, John Cabot, and his son Sebastian, from Bristol, arrived at Newfoundland, or more probably Labrador; but no intimation is afforded of his having sailed to any distance along the coast. In 1498, however, his son Sebastian, with two vessels, made a most extensive survey, beginning in the latitude of 56° , and terminating, it is said, in that of the Straits of Gibraltar, or about 36° . This must have brought him to the mouth of the Chesapeake, or even of Albemarle Sound; and it is impossible not to regret that no details should be extant of this memorable voyage. He soon after sought the service of the Spanish monarch, and was created a member of the council of the Indies. In 1517, he is again found employed, though only as second to Sir Thomas Pert, in an expedition from England, by which the exploration of Hudson's Bay was certainly effected, though not actively followed up. Returning to Spain, he was promoted to the rank of chief pilot of that kingdom, and sailing under its flag, made the important discovery of the Rio de la Plata. Lastly, at an advanced age, being again in England, he was nominated grand pilot, and governor of the

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company of Merchant Adventurers, in which capacity he drew up instructions for Sir Hugh Willoughby's north-eastern expedition.* He appears to have ranked second to Columbus among the navigators of that age, superior in science, and rivalling him in enterprise, gallantry, and honourable feeling.

* Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX., Tytler's Northern Coasts of America, p. 26-32. A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, 8vo., London 1836, pp. 25, 28, 32.



Columbus.



Ponce de Leon.

CHAPTER II.

SPANISH EXPEDITIONS.



PAIN carried off the first and great prizes of transatlantic discovery. The wise or fortunate resolution of Isabella to patronise Columbus, conveyed to her a dominion over empires of almost boundless extent, and rich in those treasures which mankind most eagerly covet. That navigator, on first viewing the American coast at Guanahani, was not very distant from Florida; but the hope of a passage to the East Indies, and other circumstances, induced him to steer in a south and south-western direction. All the great islands of the archipelago had been discovered, the coast of Terra

Firma examined, and Nunez de Balboa had obtained his celebrated prospect of the Pacific, before the Spaniards even suspected the existence of that vast region which now forms the United States. It was brought into view by accidental and somewhat singular incidents.

Juan Ponce de Leon, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Grenada, had embarked with Columbus in his second voyage. He then added greatly to his reputation, and being intrusted by Ovando, the governor, with a command in the eastern part of Hispaniola, had an opportunity of observing the rich aspect of the adjacent shores of Porto Rico. Having proposed to his superior officer to conquer it, he was allowed a body of troops to try his fortune. In this he completely succeeded, and obtained gold, not in the expected abundance, but to a considerable amount; being accused, however, of those cruelties which were much too familiar to the Spanish adventurers. His claims as governor being also considered as conflicting with those of Columbus, he withdrew, and obtained in compensation, Bimini, one of the Bahamas which lay nearest to the continent.

Here an object very different from conquest or plunder engrossed the whole soul of the warlike veteran. In an age of comparative ignorance, and after witnessing so many wonders, his mind was prepared to credit almost any extravagance. Ponce de Leon had somehow imbibed the full belief, that on one of those insular shores there existed a fountain endued with such miraculous virtue, that any man, however worn out with age, who should have once dipped himself in its waters, would rise restored to the full bloom and vigour of youth. In this delusive search, he beat about restlessly from shore to shore, landing at every point, and plunging into every stream, however shallow or muddy, in the vain hope of springing up in this blissful state of renovation. On the contrary, his eager and incessant activity under a burning sun, brought upon him, it is said, all the infirmities of a premature old age; and according to Oviedo, instead of a second youth, he arrived at a

second childhood, never after displaying his former energy of thought or action.

Extraordinary exertions, even when misapplied, commonly lead to something. While the Spaniard was sailing in every direction after his miraculous fountain, he came unexpectedly, on the 27th March, 1512, in sight of an extensive country, hitherto unknown. Magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, exhibited so gay an aspect, that he named it Florida. He landed on the 8th April, near the present site of St. Augustine; and notwithstanding the dangers of navigation amid the violent currents produced by the gulf-stream running among the islands, he spent a considerable time in tracing its outline, and finally rounded the southern point. Thus, though still supposing it to be an island, he ascertained that it must be both large and important.

This great discovery seems to have weaned the mind of the Spanish chief from his engrossing chimera. He repaired to Porto Rico, and thence to Spain, laid before the king the particulars of the new country, and obtained permission to conquer and rule it under the pompous title of adelantado. A considerable time, however, was consumed in preparations; and while thus busied, he was obliged to engage in suppressing an insurrection among the Caribs. This contest was attended with reverses, by which he lost much of his reputation; and nine years elapsed before he could conduct two ships to his promised dominion. While planning a site for a colony, he was surprised by a large body of Indians; his men were completely routed, and himself severely wounded by an arrow. As these people were never able afterwards to cope in the field with Spanish troops, this disaster may lead us to suspect that he really had lost his former military talent. Having regained the ship, he sailed to Cuba, where he soon after died of his wound.

The fate of Ponce de Leon for a considerable time discouraged all such adventurers. The coast was, however, visited by individual merchants; and Diego Miruelo is said to have



Ponce de Leon wounded.

made repeated voyages from Cuba, obtaining, among other commodities, some gold, which confirmed the delusive ideas entertained of its wealth. Fernandez, Grijalva, and Garay, made surveys of some extent along the southern coast, but without reaching Florida, or connecting their discoveries with that of De Leon. The idea of island which the Spaniards had at first attached to the country, gave way before additional intelligence and the assurances of the natives; and it became evident that a vast expanse of land lay in this direction. They, accordingly, from thenceforth claimed as Florida the whole continent of North America, including even Quebec. But this pretension, being encountered by the rivalry of more active European nations, could not be enforced; and, at no distant period, another sway and other names were established over nearly the whole of this vast range of territory.

The knowledge, however, that such countries existed was turned to a cruel account by Spanish avidity. Slaves, to cultivate the rich soil of the Antilles, became an early object of demand, and could be procured from these savage coasts: hence a company was formed, and Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon was sent with two ships on this nefarious mission. He reached South Carolina, entered the river Combahee, which he named Jordan, and experienced the usual facility of a stranger, in opening a friendly intercourse with the natives. After the usual interchange of visits and friendship, they were easily lured in crowds on board the vessel; when, in the height of their confidence, the treacherous Spaniards set sail, and stood for the West Indies. Yet the crime was nearly abortive;—one of the ships sunk, and sickness thinned greatly the number of captives in the other.

Another expedition, with a more legitimate design, was undertaken by Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese, who had been a companion of the great Magellan. Between the countries hitherto explored and Baccalaos, or the Codfish Island, as Newfoundland was then termed, there extended a vast space, within which there might still exist the eagerly desired passage to Hindostan. Gomez, employed by the council of the Indies, appears by the meagre narratives extant to have sailed northward to the latitudes of 40° and 41°. He consequently discovered New York, and part of New England, which are designated in early Spanish maps as the “Land of Gomez.” Finding the continuity of coast still unbroken, he gave up the pursuit, but endeavoured to compensate his failure by the measure, not only unauthorized, but expressly prohibited, of enslaving a number of the natives,—a step which served only to increase the ridicule attached to the abortive issue of an expedition from which very sanguine hopes had been cherished.

Meantime the attention of mankind was almost wholly engrossed by the exploits of Cortez in Mexico, a region so vast that it might almost be called an empire, and abounding beyond any yet known in the precious metals. With reference to his

success, a desire naturally arose to effect a similar achievement elsewhere. Florida was as extensive ; and no reason was yet known why it should not be equally rich. Pamphilo de Narvaez, the unfortunate rival of Cortez, first sought it as a theatre of glory and wealth. He had been employed by the governor of Cuba to seize and supersede that chief, whom he equalled in valour, but by no means in prudence and conduct. He was surprised, wounded, and completely defeated, upon which most of his troops went over to his adversary. He possessed still, however, sufficient influence to obtain the means of trying his fortune on another field. He was invested in Spain with the title of adelantado of Florida, which included the functions of general and governor, giving authority at once to conquer and rule that territory.

Narvaez, in June 1527, sailed from St. Lucar, with an armament of five vessels and 600 men. At Dominica, however, 140 of the number were induced, by promises held out by the settlers, and probably by a dread of what they might encounter, to stop short. The commander then proceeded to complete his equipments at St. Jago de Cuba ; but, being there assailed by a tremendous hurricane, which shattered all and completely destroyed one of the vessels, his force was reduced to 400 men and eighty horses.

On the 20th February, 1528, with his four remaining ships, he set sail, and after coasting along Cuba, where he suffered severely from a violent tempest, left the Havanna for Florida. He landed in April at a point difficult to ascertain, but probably near the Bay of Spiritu Santo, where was a village of some importance, with a house large enough to contain 300 persons. Narvaez, in the usual domineering manner of his countrymen, hoisted the emperor's standard, demanding to it implicit submission. The natives used at once entreaties and threats to induce the Spaniards to depart ; and when these failed, they retreated into the interior. At another village there was found a number of ornamented chests for the interment of the dead,

which being fancied to imply something idolatrous, were, with their contents, reduced to ashes ; a proceeding which must have deeply imbittered the minds of the Indians. The view of some rich cloths, and particularly of golden ornaments, continued to feed the extravagant hopes of the invaders.

It was now necessary to consider their course with care. The vessels were in an open roadstead ; and Miruelo, who had undertaken to pilot them to a secure harbour, declared himself out of his reckoning, and quite ignorant where to steer. Alvaro Nunez, the narrator, advised the commander to re-embark, and sail onwards till he should find a fertile country and a safe station to retreat on, if necessary. Narvaez, however, inspired by that rash valour which had already cost him so dear, and with the general concurrence of his men, determined to push at once into the interior ; disdainfully telling Alvaro, that since this step appeared to him so perilous, he might consult his own safety by taking charge of the fleet. The latter indignantly replied, that though he never hoped again to see the ships, he would rather share every extremity than desert his brave companions or allow his honour to be tarnished.

On the 1st May, 1528, the Spaniards, 300 strong, with only forty horses—the rest having perished on shipboard—set forth to explore the depths of this vast continent. Appalachen, at a great distance from the shore, was pointed out as the spot where they would find in abundance the objects of their eager desire. Fifteen days were passed without seeing a habitation ; and their small stock of biscuit and pork being consumed, they could subsist only on the fruit of wild palm-trees. Oppressed by toil and exhaustion, they had to cross broad and rapid rivers, in the course of which Juan Velasquez, one of their boldest and bravest leaders, sunk with his horse and was drowned. Having come to a tribe hostile to Appalachen, they were encouraged and furnished with guides. The road, however, was in many places mountainous and marshy ; and the Indians, when observed, either fled, or met them with showers of arrows. At



Narvaez's March to Appalachen.

length, after a fatiguing march of fifty-seven days, they arrived in view of a village, which was announced as the object of their search. It was hailed with rapture, as at once the end of so many toils, and the fulfilment of the most brilliant expectations.

Alvaro was sent to take possession of the place, which he easily effected, finding only women and children; the men being probably on a hunting excursion. The latter soon returned, and not a little dissatisfied at seeing their abodes thus tenanted, discharged a volley of arrows, which merely killed a Spanish horse; and, unable to withstand regular troops, they fell back, and returned two days after in a pacific guise, entreating the restoration of their families. This was granted; but the seizure of a cacique, and continued exclusion from their homes, kept up the irritation. They made two successive attacks, and, though easily beaten off, retreated with little loss.

Here the Spaniards soon discovered that the brilliant hopes which had lured them were completely delusive. Three expeditions showed the country beyond to be rugged and marshy,

with entangled forests and huge fallen trees encumbering every path. The Indians, though unable to face them in the field, could not be dislodged from the woods and bogs, whence they made desultory attacks, cutting off stragglers, and causing great scarcity of provisions. The cacique, still a prisoner, assured the invaders, that the farther north they proceeded, they would find the inhabitants fewer and the routes more difficult. Inquiring then what lay to the south, they were informed that in nine days they would reach Aute, near the coast, which afforded maize in abundance. So comfortable did this prospect appear, that renouncing all their splendid hopes of gold and conquest, they determined to proceed to the better cultivated country.

The journey proved more perilous than had been anticipated. The marshes were very deep; and as they struggled through one, with the water up to their breasts, the whole body of Indians rushed from an ambush, and poured upon them clouds of arrows. These being very long, and discharged with extreme precision, caused many severe wounds, and, in some cases, immediate death. The assailants, tall, naked, and moving with wonderful swiftness, appeared almost supernatural beings. The Spaniards remained helpless marks for the deadly missiles, till extricated from the marsh, when they found it still difficult to keep the foe at a distance, and were finally relieved only by the enemy's weapons being exhausted. They then proceeded without farther obstacle to Aute, whence the inhabitants had fled; but a valuable store of maize was found. Another day brought them to a river opening into a broad arm of the sea. This probably was the bay of Appalachicola.

Their situation now involved not only the extinction of all their past hopes, but the most gloomy presages as to their future fate. Nearly a third of their number had perished; and disease rapidly spreading, quite unfitted the survivors for the long and laborious march to the ships. After much consultation, there appeared no resource but to construct barks and sail along the coast; and no task could well appear more hopeless for men

possessing neither knowledge, nor implements, nor materials of the art: it had this only recommendation, that everything else was utterly desperate. They called upon heaven for aid, and also upon necessity, the mother of invention. With wooden pipes and skins a pair of bellows was constructed, and a man somewhat skilled in smith-work converted their stirrups, spurs, and cross-bows into nails, saws, and hatchets. Their shirts, cut open and sewed together, were formed into sails; the juice of a species of pine served for tar, the woolly part of the palm-tree for oakum, and its twisted fibres for rope. The work was prosecuted with such activity, that, between the 4th August and 20th September, five boats were prepared, into each of which forty or fifty persons could with difficulty be crowded. In this plight it behoved them to sail.

After seven days, they somewhat improved their accommodation, by seizing five Indian canoes; but at the end of thirty days, without means of landing or refreshment, they felt severely the scarcity of food and water. They discovered and debarked at a village, where they were hospitably welcomed; but a midnight attack by hostile savages forced them to retreat with great loss. Another populous place was abandoned, owing to a quarrel with the inhabitants. Their situation became more and more critical; the provisions drew near a close; and the barks, shattered by severe gales, could scarcely be got forward. As Narvaez pushed before the rest, Alvaro called to him for orders; but he replied, that the time was past for giving or receiving instructions; every man must save himself as he could. Having the best manned vessel, he was soon out of sight; but this reckless selfishness availed him nothing, and they had reason to believe that he miserably perished.

Alvaro sailed on with two of the remaining barks; but the crews were so exhausted, that on the evening of the fourth day they fell down half-dead. Happily next morning the sound of breakers announced land, which they reached in a boat, and having cooked a little maize, felt their strength and spirits

revive. Lopez d'Oviedo, the most vigorous, mounted a tree and reported that they were on a well cultivated island, almost resembling a Christian country. About a hundred natives soon surrounded them, and Alvaro, not having six men able to rise from the ground, could not attempt any violent proceedings. He sought to gain them by presents and courtesy, and met a most gracious return. After two or three days they brought a supply of provisions, with which the Spaniards prepared to resume their voyage. They began to launch the boat, a laborious task, in the course of which it was found necessary to strip off and throw their clothes into the bark. But after they were afloat, and had sailed about two bow-shots, a tremendous wave sunk it, with all the clothes, while they themselves were cast ashore, half-drowned and almost suffocated. Then, indeed, their previous condition, deemed so miserable, appeared almost felicity compared with the excess of their present calamity. They lay on the sand, naked, destitute, and hopeless; and as they looked at each other's emaciated frames, in which every bone was conspicuous, each felt sympathy with the others, mingled with his own distress. The Indians came up, and by loud cries expressed the tenderest pity, when Alvaro proposed to his companions to ask aid from a people who seemed full of such humane and generous feelings. But several companions of Cortez, who had seen their captive countrymen sacrificed in solemn pomp to the Mexican god of war, solemnly adjured him rather to abide every extremity. Looking round, however, on his followers, he saw no alternative, but the inevitable necessity of otherwise perishing, while the kindness and pity that beamed in the strangers' looks, made it appear probable that they did not meditate any such dreadful purpose. He implored their aid, which was instantly and cordially granted. They led, or rather carried the sufferers to their village, kindled large fires, and hastily, in their slight manner, erected a wooden house or shed for their accommodation. All this care did not abate the panic of the Mexican adventurers, who viewed those measures

only as preparatory to their immolation; and the customary songs and dances of the Indians during the night seemed to mark the festal pomp of its celebration. The arrival of morning and of a good breakfast somewhat lessened their dread, which was entirely removed by a continuance of kindly treatment. They learned also that another of their barks had been shipwrecked at no great distance and the crew cast ashore, though the two parties could not aid each other.

This temporary calm did not endure long. A series of tempestuous weather, interrupting the fishery and other Indian occupations, caused a severe scarcity, which of course fell with peculiar hardship on the strangers; and it was followed by a pestilential malady. Five Spaniards, in a detached station, urged by extreme want, adopted the dreadful resource of devouring each other, till only one remained because "there was nobody to eat him." This shocked the natives, and gave an unfavourable impression of their strange guests. Suspicions were also entertained that the plague was caused by their magic and malignant influence; though, on its being represented that they themselves suffered as severely, this charge was withdrawn. The first feelings of kindness had however evaporated, and the strangers were tolerated only on condition of performing the most laborious tasks, such as digging for roots in marshes. They were, moreover, called upon to exercise the medical art,—a skill in which is usually ascribed by savages to visitants in any degree superior to their own condition. They represent themselves as positively disclaiming such powers, and as compelled to exert them only by the intimation, that otherwise their present scanty allotment of food would be withdrawn. Thus starved into doctors, they began to practise on the Indian model, by blowing upon the patient and uttering Spanish words, which had a mysterious sound in their ears. Their exertions, through the power of imagination, were attended with wonderful success, though the professional fees were too scanty to improve their forlorn state. Alvaro found more

advantage in a petty traffic, exchanging shells and marine productions for red ochre, skins, flint, and cane; and he had the advantage of being able to pass between hostile tribes who would not otherwise have held any communication.

The Spaniards, during the period of famine and pestilence, had been reduced by various calamities from eighty to fifteen; and in the course of the expedition, the Indians, urged by various motives, killed a number of the survivors. Four of the most vigorous undertook to find their way to Panuco, and thence bring aid to the others; but not being aware of its vast distance, they completely failed to reach it. They learned, however, the fate of the adelantado. Having landed the greater part of his crew, he himself, remaining on shipboard, encountered a tremendous gale, was driven far out to sea, and was never more heard of. Those left on shore perished by violence or famine, which had impelled many to the dreadful extremity of devouring each other; and only one of the four returned with these doleful tidings. At length Alvaro persuaded three of his companions, Dórate, Castiglio, and Estevanico, to join him in that long journey to the westward, by which they hoped to reach the Spanish settlements in Mexico. They were probably little aware of the great extent which they had to traverse; yet when they pointed to the setting sun, the natives assured them that nations dwelt far in that direction, though many deep gulfs and broad rivers intervened.

After forming their resolution, they found considerable difficulty in escaping from the Indians, who were unwilling to lose their services. The festival, however, occasioned by the collection of a fruit called *tune*, was celebrated with a reckless gayety, amid which they succeeded even in carrying off a good supply of provisions. Coming among unknown tribes, they hesitated not to recommend themselves by the medical practice in which they had been forcibly initiated; being aided by that mystery and interest usually excited on the first view of strangers. Every new object, it is observed, was considered among

them as descended from heaven ; hence the wanderers readily obtained the reputation of children of the sun, endowed with superhuman powers. They gained even the credit of raising a man from the dead,—an achievement which has greatly shaken the reputation of Alvaro, though the details, if narrowly examined, will not perhaps bear any proof of deliberate falsehood. Being called to a man who had been seized with sudden illness, he found him with his eyes closed, apparently dead, and believed so by all the bystanders. Having as usual blown upon him and pronounced mystic invocations without effect, he was hurried off to others whose condition appeared more hopeful. He was much surprised to find, on returning from his round, that the individual had revived, and regained his appetite. The whole appears quite accordant with the supposition of a swoon or temporary insensibility ; and the credulity of the spectators, both European and Indian, readily converted it into a prodigy. Even in Spain, where the affair excited a warm controversy, the most vehement opponent of Alvaro admits the event to be not at all improbable, provided it had been ascribed to a holy priest instead of a wicked soldier. An anonymous defender, who faintly repels this last appellation, argues that such preternatural powers had been bestowed by Providence on wicked men, on devils, and even on beasts ; devoting a chapter to the “wonderful prodigies performed by brutes.” Without going deeper into this mystery, we may consider it proved, that the pretension arose rather from the ignorance and love of the marvellous peculiar to that age, than from any intention to deceive ; and hence that Mr. Bancroft has gone too far in branding the whole narrative as disfigured by “the wildest fictions.” We are not aware of any other statement bearing a supernatural or even very marvellous character ; and the whole appears to accord tolerably well with what might be expected in such circumstances.

These powers, supposed to be thus beneficently exerted, gained for the Spaniards general favour. They went from

• nation to nation, everywhere preceded by this good character; and, either by accompanying the natives in their migrations, or by procuring guides for themselves, made their way gradually westward. They passed a large river, which we presume to be the Mississippi, then traversed a populous plain, thirty leagues broad; after which they had to cross fifty leagues of a rugged and dreary tract, being the desert which intervenes between the United States and the Mexican territory. Proceeding still in the same direction, instead of following the coast of the Mexican Gulf, they were involved in a route at once circuitous and difficult. Having crossed another broad stream (the Rio del Norte), they found themselves among a range of steep and barren mountains, being those which extend over New Biscay, the modern province of Durango. Here they suffered severely, both from fatigue and want of food, regarding a place where maize might be found like an island in the ocean. Suddenly they came upon a native who wore round his neck a buckle and other trifles, evidently of Spanish manufacture.—Eagerly inquiring whence these were obtained, they were informed it was from a new race, who came from heaven, rode on horses, and wore long beards. Animated by the hope of soon meeting their countrymen, the wanderers proceeded as rapidly as their weakness would permit. They soon received ample accounts of the Christians, though of the most painful nature, hearing them described as a band of ruffians, who, wherever they came, murdered, plundered, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves. The people were fleeing in every direction, or seeking refuge on the tops of high mountains, leaving the fine plains, to which the party had now come, desert and uncultivated. Alvaro withheld all mention of his relation to such a race; but, by promises of protection, prevailed on a large body of Indians to accompany him to their quarters. At length his party met four Spaniards on horseback, who stood some time in speechless astonishment at their strange attire, and at their being in company with natives. The latter again, on

being told that their mysterious companions were Christians, were not only amazed but utterly incredulous. Everything belonging to the two, they said, were opposite; the one came from the setting, the other from the rising sun; the one were armed, clothed, and mounted, the other naked and on foot; the one healed the sick, the other killed the healthy.

Alvaro was conducted to Diego Alcaraz, the commandant in this district, but did not meet the reception he had expected. That chief, according to the atrocious system of his countrymen, wished to make slaves of the poor Indians who accompanied the discoverers. Alvaro vigorously and successfully opposed this iniquity; but he was thereby involved in an altercation with the commander, who indulged his resentment by sending him forward over a mountainous and desolate tract. On reaching Culiazzan, however, he was received in the kindest manner by the governor, Melchior Diaz, as well as afterwards at Compostella, by the Viceroy Nunez di Guzman. For some time he was unable either to wear clothes or to sleep, unless on the floor. At Mexico he was equally well treated; and, having recruited himself by a stay of two months, set sail, and arrived at Lisbon, on the 9th August, 1537.

It could scarcely have been expected, after such a series of calamities, and the destruction of an entire expedition, that Florida would have borne any attraction in Spanish eyes. Notwithstanding, when Alvaro reached home, he found a fresh and greater armament ready to sail; new and memorable events having whetted, more than ever among that people, the appetite for gold and conquest. Peru, discovered, conquered, and its treasures grasped by a handful of adventurers, had given birth to the most brilliant ideas of American wealth. Fernando de Soto, originally owning nothing but courage and his sword, had followed the fortunes of Pizarro, and been a chief instrument in annexing to Spain that golden region. He accompanied the first embassy to Atahualpa, commanding one of the three companies of horse which made captive that unfortunate prince; and afterwards



Fernando de Soto.

proceeding to Cusco, he was active in the reduction of that imperial city. Having shared amply in Peruvian treasure, he returned to his country, laden with wealth, and with that dark but lofty fame which attended those memorable exploits. His reception was brilliant; he obtained in marriage the daughter of the nobleman under whom he had first served, and appeared in pomp at the court of Charles V. Having accommodated that monarch with a liberal loan, he paved the way for obtaining almost any object on which he should set his heart. But he sued for a fatal gift. His present ample wealth and glory were prized only as a step to something higher; having in Peru been second to Pizarro, he now sought a country, the honour of conquering and ruling which might be wholly his own. He had fixed his eyes on Florida. Charles was exceedingly ready to bestow a boon which cost him nothing, and might place another bright gem in his crown. Soto was created adelantado of that province, and allowed to select thirty leagues in it, to be erected into a marquisate. Just as the agreement was concluded, Alvaro arrived with his doleful tale; yet he is said to have

given favourable accounts of the country itself. There was even a negotiation for his accompanying the new commander ; but they did not agree upon terms, and he obtained a command on the Rio de la Plata.

Soto, now gratified to his utmost wish, proceeded to embark his whole fortune in this grand expedition. As the report spread that he was setting forth to conquer another Peru, many enterprising youths made haste to offer their services ; and some, even selling their property, embarked it in the cause. He selected 950 men, most of whom were trained to arms, and of daring valour ; a force which, small as it may appear, was superior in number and equipments to those which had subverted the Mexican and Peruvian empires.

On the 6th April, 1538, Soto embarked his troops in ten vessels, and sailed for Cuba, which was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every needful resource. There he spent a year in preparation, and Vasco Porcalho, a veteran, who, like himself, had gained by the sword an immense fortune, and was living in splendid retirement, was so delighted with the noble appointment and bold spirit of the expedition, that he joined it with a train of followers and large supplies. He was created lieutenant-general.

On the 18th May, 1539, the adelantado sailed with nine vessels from the Havana ; on the 25th, he saw the coast of Florida ; and, on the 30th, landed in the bay of Spiritu Santo, which appears to be not very far from the point chosen by Narvaez. A great display was made of religious zeal ; twelve priests accompanied the adventurers, and provision was made for celebrating, in their utmost pomp, the various Catholic ceremonies. Unfortunately, Soto had not duly weighed the golden text, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice ;" yet he appears to have gone with intentions somewhat more humane than usual, determining to abstain from every outrage against the natives. But the rooted habits of ferocity and recklessness of Indian life and suffering could not easily be repressed : these are indicated

even by the provision of chains for securing the captives, and of bloodhounds for hunting down the more refractory. To obviate the scarcity of provisions, so severe upon the former expedition, he carried with him a great number of hogs, which everywhere found food in those immense forests.

It seems an unaccountable circumstance, that he should have chosen nearly the same track which his predecessor had traversed without discovering any of the mineral treasures in view. The sufferings formerly inflicted on the inhabitants had excited against the Spanish name an embittered enmity, which at once baffled all his good intentions, and produced a cruel retaliation. In the outset, he had the good fortune to obtain the services of a countryman and guide. Of four individuals, belonging to a ship sent in search of the late armament, three had been put to death with torture by a neighbouring cacique. Ortiz, the fourth, was doomed to follow, but that mercy which adorns the female character, even in savage life, interposed in his behalf. The daughter of the chief first gained his life, and then, on that boon being revoked, enabled him to escape to a neighbouring prince, where she could secure for him a favourable reception.

Soto began his dealings with Hirriga, one of the native rulers, to whom, through the medium of some friends, he tendered an amicable visit. That prince, whom the proceedings of the former expedition had inspired with the deepest enmity, replied, that the heads of the Spaniards severed from their bodies would be most welcome; but in no other shape would he allow their entrance into his dominions. Having ventured an attack, and being repulsed by Porcalho, he abandoned his capital, and sought refuge among woods and marshes. The victor attempted to track him thither, but sunk so deep in mud, that he could with difficulty be dragged out alive, and was obliged to retreat. The old man then burst into the most violent ill humour, and was heard muttering to himself,—Hirrihigua—Urribaracuxi,—declaring his abhorrence of a land the very names of which his

organs could scarcely utter. He finally resolved, in spite of the urgency of the adelantado, to return to Cuba, leaving a force under his nephew, which however was found very difficult to manage.

The Spanish general now proceeded into the territories of Urribaracuxi and Acuera, where he met a similar reception; the chiefs and people fleeing into deep forests, where he sought in vain to follow them. He endeavoured, but with little success, to soften their enmity by sending back the captives loaded with presents. Unfortunately he considered himself bound as a loyal subject to open, in all cases, his intercourse with a demand of homage to the emperor; which those free and proud chieftains, not without reason, treated as insolent and absurd. Although unable to meet the invaders in the field, they hovered round, and not a Spaniard could stir three hundred yards from the camp without being killed or wounded. Had Florida, like Mexico, been under one great government, Soto, with his brave band, would have beaten the army, entered the capital, and been master of the country. But he struggled helplessly against a multitude of fierce petty tribes, whom even now the whole force of the United States has proved unable to put down.—They offered no point at which a blow could be struck, and never left him master of more than the spot on which his army stood.

He continued, however, to advance, and at length came to the fertile district of Acali, where the troops with satisfaction felt the ground firm beneath their feet. The prince too, after some delay, met them, tendered his submission, and made the most flattering professions. But when the Spaniards, who were justly suspicious of this extreme cordiality, were involved in the difficulties of passing a large stream, some hundred savages started from among the bushes, and poured in clouds of arrows, using the most opprobrious epithets. The attack was repelled, and the passage effected, with the loss only of a favourite dog. The prince made solemn protestations of inno-

cence, in which Soto placed very little confidence; but following still his conciliatory system, he merely desired the youth to take his departure.

More memorable events distinguished their march through the country of Vitachuco, which was governed by a prince of the same name. That chief prepared to resist them with the most determined hostility, treating with utter derision the assertion of some, that they were children of the sun and of the moon, endued with supernatural powers. He announced to them in hyperbolical terms, that he would command the earth to open and swallow them up; that he would poison the plants, the rivers, and the very air. On their approach, however, he learned enough to convince him that open resistance would be vain, and therefore resolved to follow an opposite course, employing those stratagems in which the fiercest savages have never been wanting. He went courteously to meet the Spanish general, apologized for his former conduct as prompted by false impressions, and proffered submission and service. Soto was gained over, and, being led to the capital, was treated in the most distinguished manner. The cacique summoned his warriors from every quarter, as if to honour this illustrious guest. A day being appointed, when both nations were to muster in warlike array, the chiefs were secretly instructed, on a given signal, to attack and at one blow exterminate this detested race. Through Ortiz, however, intelligence of the plot was received, and the Spaniards were armed and prepared for the onset.—Just when it was about to begin, a party of them surrounded and seized the cacique. Yet the savage host, undismayed, rushed on with loud shouts; and Soto having rashly galloped into the crowd, his gallant steed, which had often borne him to victory, fell, pierced by eight arrows. The rider was in imminent danger; but his brave cavalry soon rescued him, and dispersed the loose infantry of the Indians. A chosen band, the flower of their warriors, plunged into a large pond, where they kept themselves afloat by swimming, and, though the in-

vaders surrounded it six deep, refused to surrender. They hoped to escape during the night; but a strict watch being kept, in the morning they were half dead with cold and fatigue. They still held out, and some who were induced to approach the shore hastily drew back. A few having at length landed, and being well received, the whole by mid-day had surrendered, except seven, whom certain good swimmers seized by the hair and pulled on shore. The Spaniards admired their fortitude, and by general consent a pardon was bestowed. Vitachuco himself was told, that, however disgraceful his conduct had been, it would be buried in oblivion; and he was even admitted to the table of the adelantado.

Soto, having thus attempted to subdue the enmity of the natives by conciliation, ought to have followed out his plan steadily and consistently. Unluckily it struck him, that some penalty imposed on these proud Indians might deter others from following such an example; and he adopted one which appears to have been the most injudicious possible. The warriors saved from the pond were distributed among this people to be employed as cooks and scullions, and to perform all other menial offices. These lofty spirits, who disdained to execute any daily task even for themselves, considered this as the last possible indignity. Though the Spanish general intended, it is said, to set them free at his departure, this purpose does not seem to have been disclosed, so that they appeared doomed to hopeless bondage. Every obligation was considered as cancelled, and the fiercest desire of vengeance was again inspired. This feeling was fully shared by Vitachuco, to whom it appeared, that if each Indian should kill his master, their oppressors might be at once extirpated. The natives, though disarmed, being at large, and in close and frequent contact with the enemy, their chief appointed a signal at which they were all to start up and begin the attack. At three, one afternoon, while seated at table with the general, he uttered a tremendous shout, cracking his bones in a peculiar manner, well understood by his followers

then, grasping Soto by the arm, he struck him such a blow that the latter fell senseless to the ground, the blood gushing from his mouth and nostrils. He had raised his hand to deal another, which would have closed the career of the adelantado; but his officers instantly started up, and by twelve successive wounds laid the cacique lifeless on the floor. The Indians meantime, according to their instructions, were brandishing spits, pots, chairs, everything with which a wound could be inflicted.—Several of the Europeans were killed, and many received severe hurts. As soon, however, as they had recovered from their surprise, they were a complete overmatch for their undisciplined assailants, almost all of whom miserably perished.

As soon as their wounds were cured, the Spaniards left this fatal spot and marched towards Appalachen. The Indians, as might have been expected, carried on still the same harassing hostility, abandoning their habitations, fleeing into the most inaccessible spots, and leaving nothing on which a conqueror could lay hold. Their embittered feelings were not softened by the practice of seizing all who could be overtaken, dragging them along with chains round their necks, and compelling them to perform the most degrading offices.

In the approach to Appalachen it was reported to the Spanish chief that he would meet with more regular resistance than hitherto; yet the place was deserted like all the others, and the cacique with his people had fled into the forest. As the usual harassing warfare then began, Soto hoped to terminate it by getting the prince into his power. He learned the remote spot where he was kept within an intrenchment of successive palisades esteemed quite impregnable; but the invaders soon forced this barrier, and seized the sovereign, whose huge unwieldy bulk rendered flight altogether impossible. Being received with respect and well treated, he could not now refuse to send orders that his people should cease hostilities. But though imbued with deep reverence, they disregarded mandates evidently compulsory, and eagerly sought means to rescue him.

He contrived to persuade the European commander, that, if allowed an interview with his chiefs, he would convince them of his sincerity, and make them embrace his offers. Soto felt all the delicacy of this arrangement; yet seeing no other hope, he at length agreed. The meeting was fixed at a forest six miles from Appalachen, whither the cacique was sent under a strong guard, with injunctions to keep strict watch over him. The place being reached in the evening, the interview was postponed till next day; and though during the night a circle was formed around his highness with every possible precaution, in the morning he was not to be found. The guards, in utter amazement and mortification, protested that his ponderous person could never have been removed by human means, but must have been wafted through the air by those mighty magicians, of whose potency the natives constantly boasted. Soto could not but suspect that the god of slumber, weighing heavily on their eyelids, had been the real agent; but as the affair was past remedy, he abstained from investigation. The Indians, however, got their monarch, and carried him off in triumph to a great distance, where it was impossible again to reach him.

The adventurer found at Appalachen none of those precious metals which were the object of his almost exclusive inquiry. The country, however, appeared tolerably agreeable; and the season being advanced, he resolved to establish his winter quarters there. Having learned that the sea was at no great distance, he sent forward a detachment, who reached the place where the former party appear to have equipped their ill-fated expedition. He then despatched another to the bay of Spiritu Santo, with orders for the fleet to come round to the newly discovered spot. As it afforded no good shelter, Francisco Maldonado was sent along the coast in search of a commodious harbour. He returned with the report, that sixty leagues to the westward he had found one called Ochus or Achussi, probably in the Bay of Pensacola. The fleet was then ordered to make it

their permanent station, either to secure retreat or as a channel for supplies.

Soto, however, was by no means thinking of retreat, but was busied in eager inquiry after some rich and golden country. Among the captives at Appalachen were two individuals who had travelled far to the north-west. They were shown gold, silver, and various precious stones, and asked if they had anywhere met with these. They replied that they had seen in abundance a yellow and also a white metal, which bore a great resemblance to those now exhibited. The pearls were also pointed out as objects which they had observed. The Spaniards, in the highest exultation, and imagining themselves to be approaching a Peru as rich as that conquered by Pizarro, with the utmost alacrity began their journey.

In the end of March 1540, the adelantado departed from Appalachen. Four days after, he had to cross a broad river, apparently the Santillo, continually harrassed by the attacks of the natives, who succeeded at one place in surprising a detachment of seven, only one of whom recovered from his wounds.

After leaving this hostile land, and intent only on reaching the more favoured country, he seems to have felt the necessity of adopting a more decided plan of conciliation. He dropped the demand of immediate submission to the emperor, which had excited such just and general indignation. At Achese the people still fled before him; but by showing kindness to a few prisoners, he opened by their means an intercourse with the cacique. Having professed intentions the most friendly, and asked only a passage through his territory, he met a courteous reception and the required aid. At Ocute, the next capital, he experienced equal favour; but the troops, unaccustomed to meager diet, were grievously afflicted by the failure of animal food. A number of fine dogs, which the cacique had presented to the commander, were immediately killed, and devoured as a dainty.

They appear then to have passed the Alatanaha, and left what is now called Florida, which had been found, with few

exceptions, a marshy tract of pine forest. They entered Georgia, called at that time Patofa, a comparatively fertile and populous region, where the cacique not only welcomed, but made the most active exertions to serve them. He advised them to go to Coosa, a productive country in the west; but the guide pointed to Cafaciqui, in the opposite direction, as the depository of metallic wealth. The chief then gave them a large body of his subjects to carry their baggage, and forthwith took leave. They passed, with some difficulty, the Ogeechee, a large and broad river, across which the horses swam. The Indian bearers, being now in a hostile territory, began to attack the natives; they were quite ignorant of the path; and as they consumed the provisions, it became expedient to dismiss them. The route proved much longer than was indicated by the guide, against whom such rage was kindled, that, without doubt, he would have been thrown to the dogs had not his services been still needed. The stock of maize, provided for a much shorter journey, failed; and their distress would have been extreme, had not their swine produced a numerous progeny, which, with herbs and roots, kept them alive. They came to a very large river (the Savannah), but had no means of crossing it. Parties were sent up and down, for some time without success, till at length they came to a village, and had the satisfaction to learn that Cofaciqui was on the opposite bank, and, moreover, that the female sovereign who then ruled it, was prepared to welcome them. Ere long an ornamented barge was seen moving from the other side, containing a person of rank, who proved to be the princess. She enchanted them by her beauty, grace, and courtesy; regretting the reigning scarcity, yet promising spacious accommodation and the necessary provisions. Having a triple row of pearls around her neck, she untied it, and bid Ortiz give it to the general; then, at the latter's request, she modestly presented it with her own hand. Canoes were instantly supplied, in which the whole troop were instantly ferried over.

As soon as the Spaniards were established at Cofaciqui, they

began their wonted inquiry after the yellow and the white metals, and the princess caused specimens to be immediately produced, — a sight which instantly dispelled all their brilliant hopes. The former appeared to them mere brass, with a gilded tint: yet it was probably an ore of gold, though so much alloyed that they had not skill to discover or probably to extract it; for, by a strange omission, they appear to have had no persons acquainted with the science or practice of mining. As for the white metal, it crumbled in the hand like dried clay, being apparently mere portions of the pure quartz which generally accompanies the gold formation of the Carolinas, and exhibits in many places a very brilliant whiteness. The pearls alone were considered as answering in some degree their lofty expectations, though the very profusion of them might have inspired scepticism. They were apparently nothing more than good specimens of those beautiful bivalves which abound in the interior rivers of the continent; and though they have never acquired value as objects of commerce, are said to display a lustre rivaling that of the pearl-oyster shell.

Many of the Spaniards, pleased with their reception, and sick of their long wanderings, expressed a wish to settle here. The country appeared fitted to yield valuable produce, and well situated for trade, being near the bay of St. Helena, already visited by Vasquez, d'Ayllon. But Soto would listen to no such proposal. His hope was still to find a golden kingdom in this direction, or, if that should fail, the bay of Achussi, which he considered much more conveniently situated, ought to be their place of settlement, and the point whence further efforts might be made.

The expedition, in the beginning of May, departed from Co-faciqui. The original good understanding with the natives had been interrupted, chiefly, it is admitted, through the violent proceedings of the invaders themselves. Their leader, considering it impossible to march through the country without danger of attack, took the extreme step of seizing on his fair hostess, who

had received him so cordially, and carrying her with him as a prisoner. She was well treated, but obliged to issue orders that they should be supplied with whatever her territories afforded. She escaped, near the frontier. The narrators give very indistinct notices of the general's views; but his line of march being directed towards the great auriferous range behind the Carolinas, he evidently went on information entitled to some degree of reliance. It led him, however, over branches of the Appalachians, through the Cherokee territory, a most rugged and barren tract, where the party were again exposed to severe famine. On reaching Chiaha, probably Echata, described as an island from being surrounded by numerous river-channels, some rest was taken, and inquiries made after a rich country. A friendly cacique there stated, that to the north "there was a melting of copper, and of another metal of the same colour, save that it was finer, and of a far more perfect colour." Two Spaniards with Indian guides, who were sent in search of it, returned after ten days with accounts which are very variously reported. According to the Portuguese authors, they had been led through a barren district, wholly unfit to support the army, and not yielding a single valuable commodity. Vega, on the contrary, assures his readers that they had observed mines of the yellow metal formerly seen elsewhere, and that from the disposition of the land, those of gold and silver might be discovered, if carefully sought for. As this account corresponds with the fact, it is probably correct; yet Soto quitted, when on its very border, the only gold-field in the United States, and one which has since proved very considerable. He ought to have known that the precious metals are found chiefly in high and barren places; but gold and a rich country were always combined in his ideas and inquiries. He had not, as already observed, brought any miners with him; and his hope was to find, not naked rocks, out of which ore might be laboriously dug, but a splendid capital, like that of Montezuma or Atahualpa, filled with accumulated treasure,

which would at once enrich himself and his followers. Seeing no prospect of this, he determined to retreat southward, and seek supplies at his rendezvous in the Gulf of Mexico.

He came first to Coosa, on the river so named, a country fertile and well cultivated, where he stopped to recruit his followers. Instead, however, of that conciliatory policy which had for some time succeeded so well, he adopted one precisely opposite. On entering any district, he made it his first object to gain possession of the cacique's person, detain him during their whole stay, and compel him to issue orders for every needful supply. The Coosa prince, who met him in the most cordial manner, was not exempted from this injurious treatment; and his subjects, who made vain efforts to release their chief, saw him carried away as a captive to the extreme frontier.

This system was next practised on the cacique of Tuscaloosa, a person of gigantic stature, fierce and proud, and ruling over extensive territories. He received the Spanish leaders with lofty courtesy, scarcely rising from his seat, and his indignation may be easily conceived when he found himself their prisoner. Yet seeing no immediate deliverance, he resolved to dissemble, pretended cheerfully to accompany the strangers, and studiously supplied their wants. One or two Europeans, indeed, mysteriously disappeared, but he gave plausible explanations, and carefully concealed his deep purpose of vengeance. At length they reached Mauvila (Mobile), a large town, strongly palisaded, with only eighty houses, but each containing numerous families. Soto was invited to enter, and believing that his men would be refreshed by sleeping under a roof, accepted the proffered kindness. He was entertained with dances, and every kind of gayety. Yet notice was conveyed to him that the houses were filled with armed warriors, collected from every quarter, that the children had been removed, and even the women, except those who, in this warlike region, were accounted "fit for battle." The general merely directed his followers to be on their guard. The immediate commencement is variously related; but

in an instant Mauvila echoed with the yells of thousands, and clouds of arrows were poured upon the Spaniards. In this exigency Soto ordered his men to retreat, fighting, to the place without the city where they had left their horses, for it was only when mounted that they possessed a decided superiority. This movement was effected, though not without some being killed and many wounded, while the commander himself was repeatedly in danger. When they had mounted on horseback the natives could no longer face them; but the palisade being still strong against a force without artillery, some time elapsed before a chosen body could force open the gate. Even then the Indians were found so strongly posted in the houses, that they could not be overcome except by the dreadful expedient of setting the place on fire. In a town entirely framed of reeds and branches, the effect was alike sudden and terrible; both armies were involved in volumes of flame and smoke; the natives rushing forth, fell a sacrifice either to the devouring element or the sword of the invader. Those who escaped into the fields endeavoured to renew the battle, and even their females aided in this extremity; but all was in vain, and at length the survivors sought safety in a general flight.

Thus closed the dreadful battle of Mauvila. The loss on the part of the Indians has been stated at 11,000; but even 2,500, the lowest estimate, is perhaps exaggerated. Of the Spaniards only eighteen were killed, but among these were Don Carlos and Diego de Soto, gallant youths and near relatives of the governor. Many others were severely wounded, and, besides, the whole party lost everything. The baggage had been conveyed by chained Indians, who were left outside one of the gates; but the Mauvilans, in their first success, liberating them from their bonds, brought into the town all the effects, which perished in the subsequent conflagration. The discoverers had not even a change of clothes; and were, besides, deprived of the instruments for celebrating the higher mysteries of their religion.

Soto learned at first, with satisfaction, that his port of Achussi was only thirty leagues distant, and occupied by Maldonado. On consideration, however, he felt extreme reluctance to exhibit his armament, and have the tidings conveyed to Spain of its miserable and reduced state. He was alarmed also to hear that his men were complaining of having had only hard fighting and scanty fare, with none of those glittering treasures described in flattering terms by the conquerors of Peru. It was therefore in agitation among them, immediately on reaching the coast, to embark for Mexico, where better fortune might await them,—a purpose which it would have been difficult to prevent. The general could not wholly conceal from himself the unfavourable result of the expedition, in which he had embarked all his hopes and fortunes. But in this fallen state, to appear again in Spain, which he had quitted under such brilliant circumstances, was felt to be intolerable. He determined rather to plunge afresh into the depths of the American continent, in the hope of finding at length some object that might reward his adventure; and he still possessed such a command over his followers as to carry them along with him in this desperate undertaking.

He directed his march north-west into the valley of the Mississippi, a region hitherto unexplored,—abounding too in natural wealth, destined amply to repay culture and industry, but devoid of the treasures which he sought. After hard marching and fighting, he came to Chicaga, the small capital of the warlike nation of the Chickasaws. As the cold was becoming severe, he made it his winter quarters, and attempted, with apparent success, to open a friendly communication with the cacique. Presents and visits were exchanged; and in the spring of the year the intercourse seemed about to close amicably, when the general applied for two hundred natives to carry his baggage. The Indians, who had all along been watching an opportunity for surprise, were thus induced to hasten their operations. Taking advantage of a dark, stormy night, and favoured by the treachery or cowardice of the sentinels, they penetrated undis-

covered into the Spanish cantonments, and set them on fire. The troops, at dead of night, were roused from slumber by the crackling of the flames, the smoke, and the yells of the infuriated Chickasaws. They might have been entirely cut off, but that the horses, seized with terror, and rushing with wild neighings from place to place, were mistaken for mounted troops, and struck a panic into that undisciplined band, who fled without being pursued. The Spaniards, on rallying, found that only eleven had fallen; but they had lost fifty horses, most of their hogs, and such clothes as had escaped the flames at Mauvila. Even their iron armour was damaged, and required some time for repair.

No condition, certainly, could be esteemed more desolate than theirs now was. Yet they had still bold hearts and hands, which might have conquered a wealthy kingdom, had any such existed in that part of America. Soto accordingly pushed forward, till stopped by the broad stream of the Mississippi, called here Chucagua or the great river. It is accurately described as above a mile broad, rapid, muddy, extremely deep, and with many large trees floating down its channel. His passage being opposed, it was twenty days before he could construct barges and transport his men; but after passing through Aquico, the towns of which had been abandoned, he came to a fertile territory named Casquin (the Kaskaskias Indians). Having experienced such dreadful losses from the hostility of the natives, he had again recourse to conciliation, and with his former success, being most cordially treated by the cacique and his people. Lured by deceptive reports of gold, he proceeded still northward along the river to Copaha, a country equally populous, and where he was also well received. But as the cold was becoming severe, he merely sent a party northwards, who, on their return, stated that they had travelled seven days in that direction, and had found the country very barren and thinly inhabited. Farther north, the climate became intensely frigid, and the plains were covered with such vast herds of oxen (bisons) as rendered



Soto discovering the Mississippi.

cultivation impossible. Soto therefore determined to make Copaha the limit of his march northwards. American writers have been unable to fix its precise position, though it undoubtedly formed part of the Missouri state; and the description of the country, as well as of the fish caught in the river, establishes the accuracy of the narrative. The details as to a long range of fertile country, followed by a tract of desert, along the Mississippi, seem to afford data which, on an attentive topographical survey, might indicate the place.

The Spanish commander, seeing no prospect of success in this direction, contented himself with asking for a fertile district; and he was directed to one called Quigaute, which appears to be the rich tract on the river St. Francois. It was found to answer the description; but the intercourse with the natives was again hostile. Learning that there lay a mountainous region to the north-west, which seems to be that at the head of the White River, he proceeded thither, in the vain hope that the rocks might contain gold. Disappointed once more, he bent his course southwards in search of a productive soil, which he found at Cayas, amid the hot and saline springs on the Upper Washita. Descending that river, he arrived at Autiamque (Utiangue), where he resolved to pass his fourth dreary winter. After this long and unfortunate march, and with his troops so miserably reduced, he determined at last upon the measure, from which his mind had so strongly revolted, of returning to the coast, and seeking reinforcements from Cuba or Mexico. He therefore hastily descended the Washita to its junction with the Red River, and the latter stream to its confluence with the Mississippi, where he found himself in the territory of Guachoya, filled with a brave and numerous population. His men being now reduced to fewer than five hundred, and his horses, which had formed his chief strength, to forty, he could no longer hope to vanquish in the field a brave though barbarous foe. He was obliged to employ art, to act on their superstitious impressions by stating that he was the child of the sun; and availing himself of their astonishment at seeing themselves in a mirror, pretended that in that glass he could see whatever they did at any distance, and thus detect any plot which might be formed against him. He was much concerned to learn that the sea was yet far off, and the road thither greatly obstructed by streams and entangled woods. Amid these anxieties and distresses, he was seized with fever, which not being treated with due attention, closed in a few days his earthly career.

Soto did not merit quite so hard a destiny, though he was one

of that bold bad race who, inflamed by the lust of gold, trampled on prostrate America. The unjust and tyrannical principles sanctioned by false views of loyalty and religion, which impelled to these enormities, were, in him, tempered at once by much prudence and discretion, and also by more than the usual degree of humanity. Had not his aims been frustrated by the nature of the country and the fierce valour of the people, he might have founded a dominion on a better basis than any of the other Spanish conquerors.

The troops, on the death of their commander, were struck with deep alarm. Moscoso, his successor, endeavoured to conceal the event from the Indians, pretending that the general had merely gone up on a visit to heaven, whence he would quickly return. Lest his grave should lead to other conclusions, the body was carried out, at midnight, into the centre of the great river, and, with a weight attached, sunk to the bottom. The cacique, however, politely intimated his consciousness of the true state of the case by presenting two handsome youths, in order that, their heads being cut off, they might serve the chief in the land of souls. Moscoso, declining this gift, endeavoured still to gain belief for his first statement, though probably with little success. The party, meanwhile, felt themselves seriously called upon to consider their future plans. To reach a Spanish settlement by water, without vessels, pilots, or charts, appearing quite desperate, they determined rather to attempt a march to Mexico, not without a faint hope of discovering some golden region which might compensate all their toils. They pushed, accordingly, about three hundred miles westward, when, after passing a great river, the Colorado de Texas, or the Rio del Norte, the country became almost a desert, and they could not make themselves understood by the inhabitants. They gave up all hope, and determined, at whatever cost, to return and descend the Mississippi. On regaining its banks, they had, like Narvaez's party, to perform the tedious task of constructing seven brigantines. But they fortunately had among their number a

sawyer, four or five carpenters, a calker, and a cooper, and these instructed the rest. The jealousy of the Indians, however, led to a confederacy, which might have been fatal, had it not been disclosed by the female captives. The rising of the river enabled them to avoid the danger by immediately setting sail; though a numerous fleet of canoes pursued, cut off a detachment, and harassed them during a great part of the voyage. In fifty-two days they arrived, reduced to the number of 311, at the port of Panuco, in Mexico, where they were kindly received both by the governor and people. They had marched, in four years, upwards of five thousand miles, through a savage and hostile region. They had achieved nothing; not having left even a vestige of their route, except the track of blood by which it had been too often stained.

The Spaniards, when refreshed from their toils, began to look around them; and seeing themselves on a desolate shore, and in a state of utter destitution, bitterly lamented that they had quitted fertile regions, where, independently of gold, they might have established a flourishing colony. Schemes of returning were even formed, but which, from want of union, were ultimately relinquished.*

These dreadful reverses damped the zeal of Spain to conquer or colonize Florida; but Canello, a Dominican missionary, who undertook to visit the country with a view to conversion, received ample encouragement from the government. The sinister impression, however, attached to his nation, being extended to every individual of it, he and his companions were put to death. The Spaniards, notwithstanding, continued to claim Florida, and even the whole extent of North America; yet there was not a spot in that vast territory on which one of them dared to set his foot.

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 67, quoted by Murray in his "United States of America," from which this account of the Spanish expeditions is drawn.



Verazzano.

CHAPTER III.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS.



FRANCIS I., a powerful monarch, ambitious of every kind of glory, was animated also with eager rivalry of Charles V., who derived much lustre from his possessions in the new world. He therefore ardently desired to follow successfully in the same career ; and with this view he supplied to Giovanni Verazzano, a noble Florentine, four vessels destined for America. This chief, after being driven back by a storm, was refitted, and engaged in some successful naval operations on the Spanish coast ; and it was then determined, that in the *Dolphin*, with fifty men, provisioned for eight months, he should prosecute his original design of discovery. After encountering a severe tempest, he came, in the middle of March, upon a coast which Mr. Bancroft, with great probability, supposes to be that of

North Carolina: and having sailed fifty leagues southward in search of a port without success, he turned again towards the north with the same object. He was once more disappointed as to a harbour; but seeing a fine populous country, he landed in boats, and held some friendly intercourse with the natives. He next proceeded in an eastern direction along a low coast, where even a boat could not touch; but a sailor swam ashore, and though alarmed by some strange gestures, found the natives kind. A change of course to the northward marks the rounding of Cape Hatteras; and a run of fifty leagues brought him to a fertile region, covered with rich verdure and luxuriant forests. This was Virginia, near the mouth of the Chesapeake, though no mention is made of that great inlet. A sail of one hundred leagues in the same direction led to a spacious bay receiving a noble river, evidently the Hudson. They ascended it a short way in boats, and were delighted with its banks. The coast then trended eastward; and after following it fifty leagues, they reached an island of pleasing aspect, which being of a triangular form, and about the size of Rhodes, clearly appears to be that named Martha's Vineyard. The weather prevented his landing; and, fifteen leagues farther he found a very convenient port, where he had again much satisfaction in communicating with the people. Though the latitude of 41 degrees 40 minutes be about half of a degree too low, it seems impossible not to reach Boston. He then made a course of one hundred and fifty leagues along a country of similar character, but somewhat more elevated, without landing at any point. Another stretch of fifty leagues, first west and then north, brought him to a bolder territory, Nova Scotia, covered with dense forests of fir, pine and other trees of a northern climate. The inhabitants were fiercer, and carried on trade only under jealous precautions. In a subsequent run of the same extent he discovered thirty small islands, with narrow channels running between them, being such as are known to stud the northern coast of that country and the adjacent one of Cape Breton.

Lastly, by sailing one hundred and fifty leagues farther, he reached in 50 degrees the lands discovered by the Britons, Newfoundland or Labrador. His stock of victuals being spent, he here took in water, and returned to France. He sent to the king from Dieppe a narrative of this voyage. Ramusio heard from different quarters that he had submitted to that monarch the plan of a colony; and the general belief is, that he was again employed by him. Mr. Biddle, indeed, urges the improbability that amid the disasters caused by the battle of Pavia in February 1525, Francis could engage in any such undertaking. Down, however, to that fatal day, his career was triumphant; and there was ample time to have authorized another expedition, though there is a total absence of any positive notice on the subject. Ramusio, without mentioning either place or date, states that in his last voyage, having landed with some companions, he was killed by the savages in presence of his crew still on shipboard. In a modern narrative, which, from its full genealogical details, appears to have been furnished by his relatives, Coronelli, an eminent Venetian hydrographer, is quoted, expressing his belief that the catastrophe took place off Cape Breton, in 1525. In the portrait from which our sketch is taken, the inscription positively bears "Dead in 1525." It was engraved in 1767 after a picture by Zocchi, in the possession of the family, whose opinion is thus decidedly expressed. Yet Tiraboschi has drawn attention to a letter of Annibal Caro, apparently directed to him when living at Florence in 1537. There seems a mystery round its fate, which we can scarcely now hope to unravel. His descendants probably still continue to enjoy distinction at Florence, having, in 1770, an estate in its vicinity named Verazzano. There is also a portrait of him in the Medicean gallery.

Claims so extensive and so feebly supported as those of Spain to North America were not likely to remain long undisputed. Other European nations were then rapidly advancing in maritime skill and enterprise, among whom for some time France



Coligni.

took the lead. The defeat and captivity of the king, followed by a humiliating peace, naturally diverted his mind from distant enterprises, especially such as would have been considered hostile by his rival Charles. The troubles which agitated the country after his death were also unfavourable to such undertakings; nevertheless, the spirit of adventure was cherished among the people, especially the Huguenots, an industrious class, who almost alone raised her commerce and manufactures to a flourishing condition. Rouen, Dieppe, and above all, Rochelle, ranked with the greatest havens in Europe. Admiral Coligni, one of the leaders in that eventful time, formed the scheme of a transatlantic settlement, which might at once extend the resources of this country, and afford an asylum to his Protestant brethern. While the civil war was yet only impending, he enjoyed intervals of favour at court, which enabled him to obtain permission, first to establish one in Brazil; and when

that proved unfortunate, to plant another in Florida. He fitted out two vessels in 1562, and placed them under John Ribault of Dieppe, a seaman of experience. The object was to reach the mouth of the river called by Ayllon the Jordan, now Combahee, in South Carolina; but, steering in too low a latitude, the discoverers reached the St. John, near St. Augustine, in Florida Proper. They were pleased with the aspect of the country; and, sailing northward to their destination, gave to successive rivers the names of the Seine, the Somme, and the Loire, which have not adhered to them. On reaching Port Royal, they were so delighted with its noble harbour, the magnificent trees and beautiful shrubs, that they determined to choose it for the site of their colony. Having seen a fort erected, and the settlement in a promising state, Ribault left twenty-six men, and returned to France for reinforcements and supplies. This seems an imprudent step. The establishment, in its unsettled state, stood in peculiar need of being well governed; whereas it fell into the hands of Albert, a rash and tyrannical officer, who, finding it difficult to maintain authority, where all thought themselves nearly equal, enforced it in the most violent manner. He addressed them in opprobrious language; hanged one of them with his own hand, and threatened others with the same fate. At length they rose in mutiny, put him to death, and appointed a new commander, Nicolas Barre, who restored tranquillity.

Ribault, meantime, in consequence of the breaking out of the civil war, was unable to make good his expectations and promises. After long waiting for him, the colonists were seized with an extreme desire to return to their native country; and, having no ship, they, like the companions of Narvaez and Moscoso, resolved to build one for themselves. The country afforded somewhat better materials, and they constructed a brigantine fit for the passage; but in their impatience, they laid in a slender stock of provisions, which, during the delay of a tedious calm, was entirely consumed. The last extremities of

famine were suffered; and one had been actually sacrificed to preserve the rest, when an English vessel appeared, and received them on board.

The project, though seemingly abandoned, was still cherished by Coligni; and the assassination of the Duke of Guise having been followed by a peace, during which the court endeavoured to soothe the Huguenots, he obtained permission to attempt it on an enlarged scale. In 1564, he succeeded in fitting out three vessels, abundantly supplied, and gave the command to René Laudonniere, an able officer who had accompanied Ribault. Taking a circuitous course by the Canaries and the West Indies, he made for Florida, which he chose to term New France; and at Ribault's first station on the river St. John (named May from the month of its discovery), the party resolved to stop and settle. The fort of La Carolina was erected, and expeditions sent up the river, where small quantities of gold and silver were seen; reports being also received as to the mountainous country in the interior, where these metals abounded. The hopes thus kindled were quite illusory, and diverted attention from the solid labours of agriculture. Alarming symptoms of insubordination appeared; many of the party, notwithstanding their religious profession, were of a reckless character, and had gone out with the most chimerical hopes of suddenly realizing a large fortune. Seeing no such prospect, they formed the criminal resolution of seeking it by piracy. They confined their commander, and extorted from him, by threats of immediate death, a commission to follow this unlawful vocation; while, by rifling his stores, they obtained materials for its prosecution. After various fortune, they were successful in capturing a vessel, richly laden, and having the governor of Jamaica on board. Hoping for a large ransom, they sailed to the island, and unguardedly allowed him to send messengers to his wife; through whom he conveyed a secret intimation, in consequence of which an armed force surrounded the pirates, captured the larger of their vessels, while the other escaped by cutting her cables. Those on board the

latter being reduced to extremity from want of food, were obliged to return to the settlement, where Laudonniere condemned four of the ringleaders to be executed.

That chief meantime continued to make incursions to the interior, and entered into various transactions with the natives, in the vain hope of arriving at some region rich in gold and silver. Neglecting to establish themselves on the solid basis of agriculture, the settlers depended for food on the Indians, whose own stock was scanty. They were therefore obliged to undertake long journeys, without obtaining a full supply; and the natives, seeing them thus straitened, raised the price, disdainfully telling them to eat their goods, if they did not choose to give them for grain and fish. Amid these sufferings, and no prospect of realizing their fond dreams of wealth, they were seized, as was usual, with the ardent desire of returning home, and shrunk not from the laborious task of constructing vessels for that purpose. Amid their painful labour, they were cheered by a visit from Sir John Hawkins, who gave them a liberal supply of provisions. They did not, however, intermit their task, and on the 28th August, 1565, were on the point of sailing, when several ships were descried approaching; which proved to be a new expedition, under Ribault, sent to supersede Laudonniere, of whose severity complaints had been made. He brought a numerous reinforcement, with ample supplies, which induced the colonists to remain; but they were soon exposed to a dreadful calamity.

The desire of conquering Florida, which had never become extinct in Spain, now called forth a new adventurer in the person of Don Pedro Menendez, who, having served with distinction, and accumulated wealth both in Holland and America, had there also learned the lessons of cruel bigotry. He became amenable to the sentence of a military tribunal, which, however, on account of previous reputation, was leniently executed; and to retrieve his honour, he undertook to equip, at his own expense, an expedition to Florida, of which he was appointed governor. While his preparations were in progress, Philip II.,

having received intelligence of the Huguenot settlement, pointed out to him, as a still more glorious task, that of rooting out the heretics from Spanish America ; and to enable him to accomplish this object, three hundred troops were added to his armament. Menendez sailed from San Lucar with eleven ships and one thousand men ; and such was the enthusiasm kindled for this " holy war," that on his reaching the Canaries, the number had swelled to two thousand six hundred. Notwithstanding some severe losses by shipwreck, he reached the coast of Florida, where falling in with three French vessels, and being questioned as to his intentions, he replied, with a fiery zeal, untempered by prudence, that he was come to extirpate the Protestants out of the country. The French hereupon cut their cables, and regained the port with all speed ; but Menendez, having reconnoitred their position, and considering an immediate landing impracticable, repaired to the neighbouring river of St. Augustine. He there founded a settlement, considered by Mr. Bancroft the oldest town now in the United States, and forthwith prepared for hostile operations.

Ribault, on learning the arrival of this formidable enemy, thought it most advisable to become the assailant without delay, before they could fortify their position. This conduct has been censured, but perhaps too much with reference to the fatal event. Leaving Laudonniere with eighty-five men in the fort, he sailed on the 8th September, and arrived on the 10th at the mouth of the St. Augustine ; but was there overtaken by a tremendous storm, which drove him far out to sea. Menendez, concluding that this expedition must have comprised the flower of the French troops, and that those left in the fort were few in number, hastily formed the resolution to attack them. Selecting five hundred of his best men, he led them across a wild country, intersected by broad streams, swamps, and forests, encouraging them to proceed by an appeal to all the sentiments of honour and religion. On the fourth evening the place was descried, but the night was spent in the neighbourhood, amid a dreadful

tempest, which, while it inflicted severe suffering, also lulled the enemy's suspicions. At daybreak the three gates of the fort were seen open, and only a single Frenchman outside, who was lured into the camp, and killed. Menendez then ordered his followers to rush forward, and enter before any discovery could be made. But a soldier, chancing to be on the rampart, gave the alarm; though before Laudonniere could be roused, the enemy were in the fort, and had commenced an indiscriminate massacre. That chief, with several companions, leaped from the wall, ran into the woods, and, after wandering some time, found a little bark, in which, under severe want and imminent perils, they made their way to Bristol. Spanish writers assert, that after the slaughter had continued some time, an order was issued to spare the women and children, and that, while two hundred perished, seventy were saved.

Ribault meanwhile, after being driven out to sea, saw his vessels completely wrecked among the rocks in the Bahama Channel. He escaped on shore with nearly all his men; but their condition was most deplorable, and in endeavouring to reach their settlement by a march of three hundred miles through a barren country, the most extreme hardships were endured. At length, on the ninth day, they beheld the river, and the fort on the opposite side; but what was their dismay to see on the ramparts Spanish colours flying! Their leader made a solemn pause before he could resolve to place any trust in men known to be imbued with the most ferocious bigotry. Seeing however no other hope, he sent two of the party to represent that their sovereigns were at peace; that, agreeably to instructions, they had strictly avoided interfering with any of their settlements; they asked only food, and a vessel to convey them home. Their reception is very differently reported. According to the French it was most kind, and ample pledges of safety were given. The Spaniards, on the contrary, allege that Menendez acquainted them with his object, and the bloody treatment he had given to their countrymen; but added, that if they would

lay down their arms, and place themselves at his mercy, he would do with them whatever God in his grace might suggest. We cannot however believe that without some more positive pledge, Ribault would have agreed to surrender. Having delivered their arms, his men were conveyed across the river by thirty at a time. They were dismayed to find themselves bound two and two together, with their hands behind their backs; but this, they were assured, was only a temporary precaution. At length they were drawn up in front of the castle, when the Spanish chief with his sword drew a line round them on the sand, and on a signal given, the soldiers commenced the work of slaughter, with every excess of cruelty and indignity; the military band playing the whole time, to drown the cries for mercy and the shrieks of the dying. Ribault, amid vain remonstrances, was struck in the back and fell, covered with wounds. When the work of blood was finished, the assassins suspended to a tree a number of the mangled limbs, attaching the inscription, "*Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies to God.*"

This dismal tragedy, when announced in France, gave birth to a mingled sentiment of grief and rage, accompanied by a loud cry for vengeance. These feelings were the more deep among the Huguenots, from the suspicion that they were not shared by the sovereign Charles IX., who was closely united with Philip in relentless enmity to the Protestant name. Yet a remonstrance was presented from fifteen hundred widows and orphans, calling on him to avenge this dreadful deed, and vindicate the honour of this country. The king made only formal remonstrances, and accepted a superficial apology; but there was a spirit in the nation itself which, independently of his will, provided the means of punishment.

Dominique de Gourgues was universally distinguished in that age as a daring warrior. He had fought successfully both against the Spaniards and the Turks, by the former of whom he had been held some time a prisoner, treated with the utmost

indignity, and compelled to work as a galley slave. On receiving intelligence of the Floridan catastrophe, his own wrongs, together with those of his countrymen, took full possession of his mind; and he devoted his whole energies to the work of vengeance. By selling his little property, and borrowing from friends, he equipped three ships, with two hundred and thirty soldiers and sailors, mostly chosen adherents, who had often conquered along with him. Carefully concealing his object, he obtained a license for the slave trade, and sailed on the 22d August, 1567; but on approaching the Cape de Verd islands, he changed his course, and stood across the Atlantic. It was not before reaching the western point of Cuba, that he unfolded to the whole party their dreadful destination. Some were disposed to shrink; but, being persuaded by the rest, they at length joined in a unanimous consent.

De Gourgues, in sailing along the coast of Florida, passed imprudently near to San Matheo, of which he was warned by his squadron, who had found themselves saluted as Spaniards; whereupon he hastened to another river, fifteen leagues distant, and landed as secretly as possible. Finding the natives as usual imbued with deadly hostility towards the subjects of Philip, he engaged their co-operation; and learning that the enemy had built two small forts, he made a rapid march and spent the night at a short distance from them. In the morning, he was alarmed to see the whole garrison in motion on the ramparts; but they had assembled from some accidental cause, and soon withdrew. The French then advanced through a thick wood, which brought them almost close to one of the smaller forts. On emerging from the forest they were seen, the alarm was given, and two guns fired; but, rushing forward with wild impetuosity, they scaled the ramparts, an Indian chief being foremost. The garrison, seized with terror, ran out in every direction, and were nearly all killed or taken. Those in the next station followed their example and soon shared their fate; but the main fortress was still untouched, and defended by troops far more numerous

than the assailants. A small party, however, having rashly sallied out, were surrounded and nearly cut off; whereupon the whole body, struck with the general panic, at once abandoned their stronghold, and sought safety in the woods. Being eagerly pursued, most of them were taken; and De Gourgues had given strict orders to bring in as many alive as possible. He then led them all together to the fatal tree on which the remains of his slaughtered countrymen yet hung, and having upbraided them in the strongest terms for their treachery and cruelty, he hanged them all; suspending a number of their bodies on the same trunk, and substituting the following inscription:—“*Not because they are Spaniards, but because they are traitors, robbers, and murderers.*” Had this execution been confined to a few of the ringleaders, it might have been held as a just retribution; but being inflicted on so large a scale, it almost rivalled the atrocity which it was meant to avenge.

De Gourgues had not come with any intention of settlement. Embarking, therefore, with whatever was valuable in the forts, he sailed for Rochelle, and was received in that Protestant capital with the loudest acclamations. His reception at Bordeaux was equally flattering; but it was very different at Paris, where Charles showed no little inclination to transmit his head to Philip, who loudly demanded it. Steps were even taken for bringing him to trial; but they were found so excessively unpopular, that it was deemed expedient to withdraw them, and allow him to retire into Normandy.





— Captain John Smith.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

THE government of Great Britain, notwithstanding the claims derived from the important discovery of Cabot, held, for a long time, by no means the foremost place in American colonization. She was surpassed, not by Spain only, but even by France. Through the voyages of Verazzano, Cartier, Champlain, and others, the latter kingdom acquired extensive claims, and formed some important settlements. But the long civil war, ending in the humiliation and downfall of the Protestants, who were almost exclusively skilled in commerce and navigation, threw her greatly behind in this career; and, notwithstanding some strenuous efforts at a latter period, she never could rank as a first-rate colonial power. But England, during

the reign of Elizabeth, while the two other nations were dormant or sinking, made extraordinary movements, and advanced with rapid steps to that pre-eminence which she has so signally maintained. The queen indeed, frugal and cautious, expended little of her own treasure ; but she had the skill to attract, and direct to her own purposes, the vast resources of her subjects. Great exertions were made by individuals and associations, including many of those eminent characters who distinguished that age. Their attention was for a long time engrossed by a northern passage to the East Indies round America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert first attempted colonization on a great scale ; but his expedition, directed to more northerly coasts, does not come within our present range, while its disastrous issue was calculated to deter future adventurers.

Sir Walter Raleigh, however, undertook to found a colony, which has become the most flourishing in modern times. In 1584, he obtained from Elizabeth a patent, conferring those almost regal privileges which were never denied to any one who adventured his fortune in colonial undertakings. He, and his heirs for ever, were to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy all such remote heathen and barbarous lands as he should discover ; he might capture any vessel that attempted to trade thither without his license, unless driven by stress of weather, or engaged in the Newfoundland fishery ; and in short, no reservation was made, except the fifth part of the gold and silver which might be obtained.

Sir Walter determined to direct his attention to a more southern and fertile region than that which had proved so fatal to his predecessor. He did not go in person, but sent, in the first instance, a small exploratory expedition of two vessels, under Amadas and Barlow, officers of merit. They sailed in April, 1584, and, following his views, pursued their course by the Canaries and West Indies. Thence, bending northward, on the 4th July they came upon the coast of Carolina, and were enchanted by the delicious fragrance which breathed from it.



The Indian's Breastplate.

They were obliged to sail one hundred and twenty miles before finding any appearance of a harbour ; the coast proved low and sandy ; but green hills rose in the interior, and vines grew in a profusion which they had never seen equalled in Europe.

At length they ventured to land upon Wokokon, near Ocracock inlet, which opens into Pamlico Sound ; when, on mounting a hill, they found with surprise that they had been traversing, not the continent, but the exterior shore of long narrow islands. For two days no inhabitant was seen ; but on the third, one appeared walking on the beach. He was invited on board, and, being treated with victuals and wine, departed with every appearance of satisfaction. On his report, others followed ; and at length there arrived no less a person than Granganimeo, the king's brother, with about fifty attendants. They stood round him in reverent and deep silence, only broken by whispers from four chiefs, wearing headdresses of red copper. The audience began with presents, all of which, the prince intimated must be delivered to himself ; and this was followed by traffic, in which they could offer a number of valuable skins. The great man's eye was caught by a tin dish, which, suspended across his breast, was expected to form an amulet against all his enemies. For

this trifling article he cheerfully gave twenty skins, each worth about a noble. A copper kettle brought fifty; so that the trade proved most profitable to the English. On the island of Roan-oake, they went to visit Granganimeo, who was absent, but his wife gave them a most hospitable reception. After exploring the neighbouring coasts and sounds, the navigators returned home in September, with two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, giving a most flattering account of the country and people. They declared the soil to be "the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world;" the people, "most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age."

These reports kindled all that enthusiasm which naturally arises on any discovery begetting vague and brilliant hopes. Raleigh expended nearly his whole fortune in fitting out seven vessels, which were easily filled with emigrants, to the number of 108. None of the ships, indeed, exceeded 140 tons, and three were mere boats. The command was given to Sir Richard Grenville, one of the brightest ornaments of that age of gallantry, and surnamed "The Brave." The fleet sailed early in April; but having again taken the circuitous route of the West Indies, did not reach its destination till the end of June. The crews landed, and undertook an excursion into the interior, where they were, as before, well received; but the foundation of future enmity was laid, when, on account of the disappearance of a silver cup, a village was burned, and the grain removed. In August, Grenville, who had merely undertaken to conduct the naval armament, departed for England, leaving as permanent governor, Ralph Lane, a brave officer, but wanting, it should seem, that consummate prudence and discretion, so necessary in the management of a new colony.

The party seem to have arrived with high expectations, but without any fixed plan; and the last thing thought of was to take up the axe or the plough, though the only sure mode of obtaining even a subsistence. Gems and metallic wealth were



Grenville burning an Indian village.

always the objects that glittered before them. Lane, by some means which he does not choose to explain, had held as a captive, Menatonon, one of the most powerful princes, whom he did not dismiss without a large ransom. From him and others, accounts were received of a country in the interior, abounding in rich pearls, probably the same brilliant shells that misled Soto; also of a wonderful metal resembling copper, but softer and paler, and which was formed into ornamental plates. This was probably no other than the gold of central Carolina; but Lane, even without suspecting this, proceeded with a chosen body to ascend the Roanoke. The Indians allured him by promises of aid, and of having supplies of food at regular stations; and though his own conduct might well have led him to doubt their sincerity, he seems to have suspected nothing. The party continued three days to ascend the river, delighted with its spacious and noble expanse; but during this time neither Indians nor provisions were seen, and all the villages were deserted. He then observed to his men, that they had barely sustenance sufficient to enable

them to regain the settlement; but they, buoyed up by wild expectations, entreated to be led onward, representing, that they had two mastiffs which, when killed, and their flesh made into soup with sassafras leaves, would keep them alive some time. They sailed onward, amid desolation as deep as ever, till it began to be broken by lights moving to and fro in the woods. Suddenly, from their depth, a voice was heard, calling on Manteco, their domesticated Indian, who immediately entreated them to be on their guard. Presently a shower of arrows fell around the vessel, though happily without material injury. An eager pursuit was commenced; but the enemy had "wooded themselves," and could nowhere be traced. There was then no option but to return; and Lane warned his party that they must betake themselves to their "dog's porridge, which they had bespoken." They could not refuse, yet doubts are intimated whether a dish so unsavoury had ever been set before human beings.

They returned just in time to prevent a general attack upon the settlement. The report was spread, that their God having no power, had suffered them all to be either killed or starved, which last statement is acknowledged to have approached very nearly the truth. Their reappearance suspended these views, and restored confidence to the small party of their friends. Soon, however, the national enmity broke forth in a general conspiracy, at the head of which was Wingina or Pemisapan, the most powerful of the caciques. They had agreed to refrain from sowing the adjacent grounds, to destroy the fishing weirs, and thereby to reduce the invaders to starvation. It was ultimately resolved to make a grand attack in the night, for which large bodies were secretly collected; and the design, being veiled under a show of the most ardent friendship, deceived the English. But the captive prince, notwithstanding his wrongs, having been extremely well treated, had become attached to them and made the disclosure. Lane, having learned both the destined time and place, resolved to be beforehand with them; but

they, "privy to their own villanous purposes, held good espial." Both parties flew to arms; and the Indians, after losing a few men, fled into the woods. The European, however, determined not to be outdone in treachery. Pretending not to be aware of Pemisapan's concern in the affair, he solicited an interview, as if to lay before him his complaints against the others. The savage came accordingly, when, on a given signal, the English discharged their pieces upon him and his followers. The chief, though wounded, fled with rapidity; but being hotly pursued, his head was brought to the commander.

The immediate danger was thus averted; but the enmity of the natives was henceforth unappeasable, and the strangers began seriously to ponder their situation. Of their golden dreams they saw no prospect or chance of fulfilment, while absolute want stared them in the face; the supplies promised at Easter had not arrived in June; and they were in momentary dread of perishing either by famine or the arrows of the savages. Amid these dispositions a fleet of twenty-three vessels was seen in the offing; and after some alarm lest it should prove a hostile squadron, the joyful announcement was made, of its being that of Sir Francis Drake, returning from his victorious expedition against the Spanish main. That gallant officer readily agreed to give them a store of provisions, a sloop of seventy tons, and other small craft, with which they might either explore the coasts or return to England; the latter, it is probable, being the real object. A violent storm, however, destroyed these vessels, thus defeating the arrangement; and Lane, upon the earnest entreaty of the settlers, contented himself with obtaining a place on board the fleet, by which he and his adventurers might be conveyed home.

The conclusion that Raleigh had deserted them was quite unfounded. A few days after this hasty departure, there arrived a brig of one hundred tons, provided with everything needful for their wants; but to the utter amazement of the crew, there were no colonists to supply. After sailing about some time,

and satisfying themselves of the fact, they too returned to Europe. This was another hasty step; for a fortnight had not elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared, bringing three well-appointed ships, laden with every means of supporting and enlarging the colony. His dismay may be conceived when neither the vessels previously despatched, nor one Englishman, could be found within those savage precincts. He therefore left merely fifteen men to erect a fort, and keep a certain hold of the country till farther reinforcements could be sent out.

All this complication of failure, blunder, and disaster did not yet discourage Raleigh. In April of the following year, he fitted out a new expedition of three ships, and one hundred and fifty persons, led by John White, who was appointed governor, with twelve assistants, who also perhaps contributed to the expense. Attempts were made to establish it on a somewhat more solid footing. Implements of agriculture were provided; several families went out, and the party, including seventeen females and nine boys, arrived in July, and proceeded to the former settlement. Here a dreadful scene met their eyes; the fort was razed to the ground; the houses, though still standing, were open and tenantless; the floors overgrown with shrubs and weeds, on which deer were feeding. The bones of one man lay scattered on the ground; while of the rest not a trace remained. After anxious inquiry, it was found that a band of Indians had surprised and burnt the fort, when the English, rushing out to save themselves, were either killed or chased into the woods, where they soon perished.

White began by soliciting from the Indian chiefs a renewal of their former alliance, promising the most friendly treatment, and that everything which had passed should be forgiven. They announced that an answer would be returned in seven days; and when the time elapsed without being fulfilled, he determined on a hostile expedition. Led by Manteo, he attacked a party, and drove them into the forest; but was dismayed to find that by mistake he had fallen upon one of the few

friendly tribes. He then relinquished farther proceedings; but all hope of conciliatory arrangements was lost.

As winter approached, and the vessel was about to return to Europe, the colonists began seriously to view their situation. They could look for nothing from the Indians but the most deadly hostility, while the raising of supplies for themselves was a work of time and uncertainty. They therefore joined in an earnest entreaty to White, that he would accompany the ship, and exert himself in bringing to them further aid and support. He strongly objected, on the ground that it would have the appearance as if he were deserting his own colony; but they insisted, and having delivered a written testimony, signed and sealed, stating that the proposal came from themselves, he consented. There had been born to him during his residence a granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States.

White returned at an unfortunate crisis, when the whole nation was engrossed by preparations to meet the Spanish armada. Sir Richard Grenville, while making ready sail to Virginia, was detained for this more important service. Yet Raleigh contrived to furnish the other with two well-provided vessels; but that officer imprudently going out of his way in search of prizes, in which he was ultimately unsuccessful, had his ships severely damaged, and was obliged to return. This was succeeded by the actual arrival of the grand armament in the Channel, which for a season banished every other thought.

Even after this eventful period of danger and triumph, the colony sustained another severe loss. Raleigh having spent 40,000*l.*, nearly his whole fortune, and encountered only a series of disaster, without any immediate benefit or sure prospect, determined to turn his attention to other objects. He found an association who, on having his privileges transferred to them, undertook the charge of supporting the settlement; and yet, through the delays incident to the change, White could not be fitted out till 1590. He sailed in May; but, in consequence

of adverse winds, did not reach Roanoke till the middle of August. Again the colony was in a state of utter desolation; though there appeared reason to hope that it had removed to a more favourable site formerly projected. This was the island of Croatoan, fifty miles distant, in which Manteo resided, and where he met a most friendly reception. In that event they had been stipulated that the letters *C R O* should be carved on the bark of a tree, which were found, and elsewhere the full name Croatoan. A cross was to have indicated a disastrous removal; and this sign of evil was absent. Chests and various stores had been buried in the earth; some were entire; others had been discovered and rifled by the Indians. On the whole, White concluded that all was well, and began to steer for the new station; but meeting with some difficulties, and the season being advanced, it was very coolly resolved to make for the West Indies, trade there, and touch at the colony on his return home. After coming out into the open ocean, the wind was so adverse to his proposed course, and so favourable to that for Britain, that the latter was adopted, and he arrived at home in October.

Raleigh felt deeply concerned in the fate of his colony, sending, it is said, five different vessels, the last in 1602; but they performed their duty ill, and all returned without reaching the spot. No intelligence was ever received or trace found of this unfortunate settlement.

It would not be easy to find a parallel to this series of abortive and disastrous expeditions; for after so many successive colonies, and such lavish expenditure, not a trace was discoverable that an Englishman had ever set foot on the soil of Virginia. It can scarcely therefore be considered a reflection on British enterprise that it should for some time have paused: and yet, by an elastic power, it soon rose again from under the deepest depression. In 1602, a vessel sailed, under Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, with thirty-two men, twelve of whom intended to settle. Striking directly across the ocean, he came upon the coast of Massachusetts; and after sailing onward some

time, reached a bold promontory which, from the great quantity of fish caught in the vicinity, he named Cape Cod ; and it has ever formed a conspicuous point on the American continent. The crew, having merely touched the shores of New England, began to "trend the coast southerly," and after passing some dangerous spots, named Tucker's Terror, Point Care, and other promontories, they reached a large island, which they called Martha's Vineyard. Having landed, they were pleased with its aspect, yet sailed on till they entered Buzzard's Bay, adjoining Rhode Island, which appearing one of the stateliest sounds ever seen, received the name of Gosnold's Hope. Elizabeth's Island, within its circuit, was chosen as a desirable place of settlement. The soil was clothed with noble trees, and with underwood, which, among other valuable plants, included sassafras, then esteemed a medicine of sovereign virtue. Some pulse being sown, grew in a fortnight to half a foot. They debarked on the main land, which appeared "the goodliest they ever saw, replenished with fair fields." Having erected a fort, and collected a cargo, chiefly of sassafras, they prepared to return ; but at this crisis the intending colonists were struck with panic at the idea of being left with only a small stock of provisions on this remote and savage shore, not without a fear that the vessel might never return, and, like former settlers, they might be abandoned to their fate. Their companions, too, would thus escape all responsibility for their share of the cargo. Under these apprehensions they abandoned the idea of remaining, and went on board with the rest.

Although this expedition did not issue in settlement, it renewed a favourable impression respecting American colonization. Hakluyt, the indefatigable promoter of discovery, prevailed upon several merchants of Bristol to equip two small vessels ; and Raleigh, who still held the patent extending over all this coast, being asked for his consent, readily gave it, signed and sealed. Two ships, of fifty and twenty-six tons respectively, were placed under Martin Pring, who, sailing by the Azores, came upon the

shores of Maine, in 43° N. lat., near the bay of Penobscot. The coast was fruitful ; but as it yielded little sassafras, he proceeded southwards till he came into the track of Gosnold, which he followed to a bay in lat. 41° , where there was an abundant supply of that favourite plant. The first intercourse with the Indians was friendly ; but afterwards alarm was taken at their coming armed in large numbers, with a threatening aspect. Pring confirmed the favourable account of the country given by his predecessor.

Circumstances now appeared so promising as to influence individuals of the highest distinction. The Earl of Southampton, one of the most accomplished noblemen of the age, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, fitted out George Weymouth, who had already, in searching for the north-west passage, made some discoveries on the coast of Labrador. Sailing on the last day of March, 1605, on the 13th of May, he fell in with the American coast in about 41° ; but, to avoid dangerous rocks and shoals, he stood out again to sea. His object was to go southward, but the wind drove him considerably to the north. Being then in want of wood and water, he stood in for the land ; but found the charts extremely erroneous, and after proceeding fifty leagues, he saw himself in the midst of those small islands which stud the Bay of Penobscot. At one of them, in a most commodious harbour, he left the ship, and in the pinnace ascended the bay, till he reached the mouth of a large river. The party rowed up twenty miles, and thought it the finest they had ever seen. Some companions of Sir Walter Raleigh considered that even the mighty Orinoco could not stand a comparison with it. It was navigable for vessels drawing sixteen or eighteen feet water, and completely free from rocks and shoals. The shore was covered with fine forests, chiefly of pine ; and the coast was level, though high mountains appeared in the interior. They held friendly intercourse with a number of the natives, and obtained valuable furs at cheap rates. These people were astonished and awed by the action of the loadstone ; but appear-

ing afterwards in rather alarming numbers, they gave an invitation to land in a manner so suspicious, that Weymouth rejoiced "that God gave him so much understanding as to avoid their snares." We cannot but remark that no unequivocal act of hostility was committed; but five of them were enticed on board, and with their canoe carried to England.

This series of voyages conveyed to Britain a much higher idea than had yet been entertained of her transatlantic dominion. It was found to include a range of territory stretching over eleven degrees of latitude, all in the temperate climates, diversified with noble rivers and harbours, and, wherever visited, displaying a luxuriant fertility. This prospect rekindled all the enthusiasm of enterprise and hopes of wealth. An association was formed by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Wingfield, Popham, with other men of rank and eminent merchants, for the purpose of colonizing this vast region. James I., who was fond of such undertakings, and had employed them successfully for the improvement of some ruder parts of Scotland and Ireland, was ready to give every encouragement. The adventurers were divided into two companies; the one from London for the southern, the other from Bristol and the west for the northern parts of Virginia. The former were allowed to choose any spot between the 34th and 41st degrees of latitude; the latter between the 38th and 45th. Three degrees were thus common between both; but collision was prevented by enacting that wherever one had fixed its seat, the other should choose theirs at least one hundred miles distant. From that first station each company was to possess fifty miles of coast on each side; their territory was thence to stretch the same distance inland, and the same out to sea, including all islands within the range. These terms deserve notice, as they seem to have been much misapprehended by Chalmers, Bancroft, and indeed most other writers. The coast was not divided between the companies, nor had either an exclusive right to their own portions beyond the space of one hundred miles square, which they were

allowed to choose. This may serve to acquit successive princes of the repeated infractions of the charter with which they have been charged. Within this range the associations obtained full property in all the lands, natural resources, and objects of every kind, with only the usual exception of a fifth of the gold and a fifteenth of the copper. The revenue produced by fines and light import-duties was to be enjoyed by them for twenty-one years, after which it was to be paid into the royal treasury. They were not, however, invested with those kingly attributes which had been lavished on Gilbert and Raleigh. James lodged the government in two councils, one resident in England, the other in the colony, and claimed the right of appointing both; but, having exercised it in regard to the first, he allowed them to nominate the Virginian members. He busied himself moreover in preparing a code of "orders and instructions," a proceeding, as Chalmers observes, decidedly unconstitutional, but controverted by no one. The colonists and their posterity were declared English subjects, yet were invested with no political rights, not even trial by jury, unless in capital charges; minor offences were punished arbitrarily by the council. The English church was exclusively established. Strict and laudable injunctions were given for the mild and equitable treatment of the natives.

The year 1606 was spent in collecting funds and adventurers, which last amounted then to one hundred and five, including persons of distinction, particularly George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. There were also Gosnold, and Mr. Hunt, a clergyman, while Captain Newport, an officer of skill and experience, undertook the naval command. But the individual destined to exercise the happiest influence on the new colony was Captain John Smith, who already, in the Turkish war, had displayed a firmness and intrepidity peculiarly fitting him for this arduous appointment. The fleet of three vessels, none exceeding one hundred tons, sailed from London on the 19th December, taking again the circuitous route of the West

Indies, rendered necessary perhaps through the lateness of the season. The arrangements, however, had been injudicious. James, by a ridiculous caprice, had caused the names and instructions of the council to be enclosed in a box, not to be opened till after the arrival in Virginia; and thus the crew, in going out, knew not whom to obey. The energy of Smith, with his frank and manly bearing, soon led them to recognise him as their leader. This was envied by others higher in rank, who charged him with a design to set aside the council, to usurp the government, and to become king. On these unsupported charges he was arrested, and confined during the voyage, and for some time longer; so that his services, when most wanted, were lost to the colony.

The expedition did not reach the coast of America till April, 1607. And in making for Roanoke, a violent tempest drove them quite out of their reckoning. Being tossed about several days without sight of land, they became despondent, and some even urged a return to England. Suddenly they came in view of an unknown promontory, which marked the entrance into a spacious gulf. This was the magnificent opening of the Chesapeake, the opposite capes of which were named after the young princes, Henry and Charles. The view of this coast at once dispelled their gloom, and made them rejoice in their enforced change of direction. "They were almost ravished at the sight thereof.—It seemed to them to claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world. Heaven and earth seem never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation." They soon reached a noble river, which they named James, and after ascending and examining its shores during seventeen days, they chose for their colony a spot fifty miles up, and called it Jamestown. The difficulties of treating with the natives soon began. The very first night "came the savages creeping upon all-fours from the hills, like bears, with their bows in their mouths." These they discharged against the strangers and wounded two; but as soon

as "they had felt the sharpness of our shot" they retreated with loud cries into the woods. Afterwards five, who were met near Cape Henry, though showing some signs of fear, were reassured by seeing "the captain lay his hand on his heart," and invite them across the river to the town. Their welcome was singularly expressed "by a doleful noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails." Mats were then spread on the ground, and covered with maize-bread, while tobacco was presented, with long ornamented pipes. They then danced for the amusement of their guests, shouting, howling, and stamping, "with many antic tricks and faces, making noise like so many wolves or devils." The English received a pressing invitation from a great Indian chief, the Werrowannee of Rappahana, whom they found rich in rude ornament, his person painted red and blue, with various embellishments, seemingly of pearl and silver, and a metal which was either copper or gold. "He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a prince of civil government." His palace, on a hill watered by fine springs, was surrounded by as rich corn-fields as they had ever seen.

As soon as the party had landed, the box of instructions was opened, and the names of the council were found, including Smith; who, though he was kept out by the jealousy of his rivals, nevertheless accompanied Newport up the river, as high as the great falls, where they visited Powhatan, a sort of petty emperor over all the surrounding tribes. Smith reckons them at seven thousand, of whom nearly two thousand were warriors; but he never saw more than seven hundred together. Powhatan received them well; and when some of his people murmured at the land being thus occupied by a party of strangers, he replied, it was only waste ground, and, as long as they injured no one, they were welcome.

On their return to Jamestown, affairs were found in evil plight. The colonists, not we fear without blame, had incurred the hostility of the savages, while they neglected to fortify their posi-

tion. A general attack, which was made, was repulsed with great difficulty, seventeen being wounded and one boy killed. By great exertion, about the middle of June, a palisaded fort was erected, secure against those rude assailants, who, however, continued to hover round, cutting off stragglers, and obliging the settlers to keep constant watch. The charges against Smith were still pressed, and a party wished to send him to England; but he, loudly demanding a trial on the spot, was supported by a majority of the colonists. He was triumphantly acquitted, and Wingfield, his accuser, condemned to pay him a fine of 200*l.*, which he generously threw into the common stock. Mr. Hunt, the clergyman, succeeded in producing at least an appearance of harmony, cemented by partaking together the Christian communion.

On the 15th June, Newport, with the vessels, sailed for Britain, leaving the settlers in the midst of that vast wilderness which they had undertaken to cultivate. In this situation the brilliant hopes which had lured them thither quickly vanished. The fruitfulness of the soil indeed fully equalled expectation; but all the machinery by which it could be made capable of producing individual wealth was still to be created. The land required not only a laborious culture, for which they were little prepared—but a still harder task remained; that of hewing down the forest, which covered the whole of it. By an unhappy arrangement, all the produce for the first five years was to be in common, and distributed by the council according to their respective wants. But, as Chalmers shrewdly observes, “when men are not to profit, they will labour little; and when all are fed from a common granary, few will concern themselves how it is filled.” Raising scarcely any crop the first year, they were dependent on the supplies from home, which had been much diminished during the long voyage, and are alleged to have been originally of inferior quality. A slender allowance of this unwholesome food, bad river-water, and exposure to a new climate, soon spread disease so widely, that there were

often not ten men fit for service. "There were never," says Percy, "Englishmen left in a foreign country, in such misery as we were." Before autumn, fifty died, nearly half their number, among whom was Gosnold, the projector of the settlement. Discontent naturally arose; Wingfield, the president, was accused of living in plenty, while others were perishing, and even of meditating a departure. On these charges he was deposed, and his place supplied by Ratcliffe, who, being of an easy temper, left the whole management to Smith, which was what the colonists desired.

This gentleman justly considered sustenance the most important object, in search of which he proceeded with a party down the river. The natives treated them with derision, "as famished men, and holding out morsels of bread, asked for them swords, muskets, and other valuables." Unable to succeed by fair means, he discharged a volley, which caused them immediately to seek the shelter of the woods. Landing at a village, he found food in abundance; but forbade his people to encumber themselves with it, foreseeing the immediate return of the Indians. Accordingly, there soon issued forth, amid hideous noises, sixty or seventy painted savages, bearing in front their *okee*, an image of skins stuffed with moss, and hung with copper chains. They advanced upon the English, but met so *kindly* a reception, that "down fell their god," divers of his worshippers lay sprawling, and the rest disappeared. Their spirit being now humbled, they sent presently a venerable character, a *quiyoughcasuck*, to treat for peace, and for the restoration of their idol. Smith answered, that if they would load his boat, they should be welcome not only to their *okee*, but to a stock of beads, hatchets, and other valuables. They cheerfully assented, and amidst singing and dancing, brought not only the stipulated grain, but presents of turkey, venison, and wild-fowl.

Smith returned just in time to prevent Wingfield and another from seizing a vessel and sailing to England. His supplies, with the flocks of water-fowl which came at the approach of

winter, relieved their wants; and having in his rambles discovered the great river Chickahaminy, he determined to explore it to its source, not it is said without a hope of thereby reaching the South Sea, viewed then as the grand source of wealth. He was impelled, it was imagined, by the taunts of some of his enemies in the colony, but we rather think only by his own adventurous spirit. He ascended first in his barge, then in a canoe, and twenty miles on foot, attended only by his Indian guides. But three hundred natives, who had traced his steps, surprised and dispersed his party, and then came suddenly upon himself. He made astonishing efforts for safety, and fastening with his garters a native ally to his person, presented him to the enemy as a buckler; then he ran to the canoe, which he would have reached, had he not suddenly sunk in a deep morass, where he was overtaken, and, to escape from perishing with cold, obliged to surrender.

He had now reason to consider his last hour approaching, and a circle had in fact been made to shoot him. With characteristic presence of mind he asked for the chief, showed his compass-dial, pointed out its singular movements, and endeavoured to explain the corresponding phenomena of the earth and sky. Whether they understood these indications or not, they were awed with astonishment as if admitted to contemplate a supernatural object. On a signal from their leader, they laid down their bows and arrows, and led him under strict guard to their capital. He was there exhibited to the women and children; and a wild war-dance was performed round him, in fantastic measures and with frightful yells and contortions. He was then shut up in a long house, and supplied at every meal with as much bread and venison as would have dined twenty men; but, receiving no other sign of kindness, he began to dread that they were fattening in order to eat him. Even without such a precise purpose, this festive entertainment is known among savages to be no uncommon prelude to torture and death. They asked his aid in reducing Jamestown, while he sought an op-



Smith showing the Compass.

portunity of making his way thither. In the course of this manœuvring, a message sent to that place gave him an opportunity to display the powers of writing, which was considered by them as a species of magical spell. At length, after being paraded and exhibited in various villages, he was led to Pamunkey, the residence of Powhatan. It was here his doom was sealed. The chief received him in pomp, wrapt in a spacious robe of rackoon skins, with all the tails hanging down. Behind appeared two long lines of men and women, with faces painted red, heads decked with white down, and necks quite encircled by chains of beads. A lady of rank presented water to wash his hands, another a bunch of feathers to dry them. A long deliberation was then held, and the result proved fatal. Two large stones were placed before Powhatan, and by the united efforts of the attendants Smith was dragged to the spot, his head laid on one of them, and the mighty club was raised, a few blows of which were to terminate his life. In this last extremity, when every hope seemed past, a very unexpected interposition took place. Pocahontas, the youthful and favourite daughter of this savage chief, was seized with those tender emo-



Pocahontas rescuing Smith.

tions which form the ornament of her sex. Advancing to her father, she in the most earnest terms supplicated mercy for the stranger ; and though all her entreaties were lost on that savage heart, her zeal only redoubled. She ran to Smith, took his head in her arms, laid her own upon it, and declared that the first death-blow must fall upon her. The barbarian's breast was at length softened, and the life of the Englishman was spared.

Our adventurer, being naturally expected to render some services in return for so great a boon, employed himself in making hatchets, beads, and other ornaments for the father and daughter. At the end of two days he was conducted into a large house, where, amid hideous and doleful noises, Powhatan rushed in, with two hundred attendants, strangely disguised and their faces blackened. Smith again thought his last hour had come, but the chief announced these as signs of peace and friendship; and he was forthwith sent to Jamestown, on the sole condition of transmitting thence two culverins and a millstone, a promise faithfully fulfilled.

He again arrived at a critical moment. A majority of the colonists, impatient of continued hardship and privation, had determined to prepare a pinnace, and set sail for their native country. He took the most energetic steps to arrest this course, having, with the aid of some faithful adherents, pointed a gun at the vessel, and declared she must either stop or sink. A conspiracy was then formed against him; but by his vigilance he detected it, and sent the ringleaders to England. The fair Pocahontas continued her generous kindness, and came every four or five days with provisions, which relieved their wants and revived their spirits. They were soon still farther cheered by the arrival of Captain Newport, with one hundred and twenty emigrants and liberal supplies. The company, however, now impatiently endured their heavy expenses, and the absence of all prospect of marketable returns. Gold was still viewed as the main source of wealth, and many of the new comers had been selected on account of their supposed skill in its discovery. Naturally desiring to satisfy their employers, they thought they perceived in a certain yellow glittering earth this precious ore. Thenceforth all sober industry was thrown aside: "Dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, was the universal cry." Smith lamented to see the whole attention of the settlers attracted by this "gilded dirt," but could not prevent them from putting a large portion on board, and some time elapsed before

they were apprised that a skilful examination had proved it utterly worthless. Fortunately perhaps, no rumour seems ever to have reached them of the real gold in the mountainous country, whence they were indeed more distant than the first colonists.

Newport, on learning the friendly intercourse with Powhatan, sent liberal presents, and was invited to visit that savage potentate. He found the monarch surrounded by twenty-two fair ladies, lavishly painted and decked with beads. A courteous traffic was opened, in which Smith considered the captain as overreached, particularly in afterwards acceding to a request for twenty swords, dangerous weapons to put into such hands. The latter, after remaining fourteen weeks, departed, without being able to collect any other cargo besides cedar-wood, and the yellow earth of which such illusory hopes were entertained.



Captain Smith exploring the Chesapeake.

Smith now undertook the important task of exploring the Chesapeake to its head, not only with the view of tracing the limits of the colony, but still more from the hope of an inlet opening into the South Sea, and affording a passage to India. In a small barge of only two tons, he made an extensive survey of the Chesapeake and its tributary waters. He then re-

turned to Jamestown, examining in his way the river Patuxent. This voyage of about three thousand miles, performed by twelve men, in a small open barge, "with such watery diet, in those great waters and barbarous countries," was extremely creditable to the parties. Although unproductive as to the South Sea or to gold, it made an important addition to the knowledge of this part of America.

On his arrival, Smith was installed as president, and began, with characteristic activity, to improve the buildings, strengthen the forts, and train the men to military exercises; but he was interrupted by the arrival of Newport with a fresh colony of about seventy, including two females. The company having spent at least 2000*l.* in the equipment, expressed an earnest desire and expectation of being somewhat reimbursed. They pointed particularly, as objects to be attained, a lump of gold, the discovery of the South Sea, or a member of Raleigh's lost company. The second being seemingly the main object, a barge was sent in frame to ascend one of the great rivers, to be thence carried over the mountains, and launched on a stream flowing into the Pacific. In estimating the want of geographical knowledge which this scheme displayed, we must allow for their imperfect resources. The discoveries of Drake and Cavendish could not yet be connected with the eastern side of America. The impression probably was, that the moderate breadth of the continent in Mexico would be prolonged northwards; while in point of fact the idea of wealth attached to the South Sea was founded on vague and illusory associations. Its shores in Mexico and Peru were indeed rich in the precious metals; but this afforded no presumption as to what might be the productions of a more northern latitude. As, in furtherance of this object, Powhatan's favour was to be courted, there had been sent handsome presents, with materials to crown him with splendour in the European style. Smith viewed the Pacific and the coronation of Powhatan as alike absurd; but was obliged to yield to Newport, who came with instructions direct from the

company. With only four companions he courageously repaired to the residence of the monarch, inviting him to come and be crowned at Jamestown. The party were extremely well received, though once they heard in the adjoining woods outcries so hideous as made them flee to their arms; but Pocahontas assured them that they had nothing to fear. Accordingly, there issued thence thirty damsels of such strange aspect that he uncourteously terms them fiends. They were covered only with green leaves bedaubed with shining colours, the leader wearing on her forehead a pair of stag's horns. For an hour they danced round the fire, with wild shouts and strange contortions. They then retired; and the table was spread with an abundance of savage dainties, when the ladies, with whom he hoped to have done, rushed in, and, crowding round him, lavished compliments with which he would have gladly dispensed, each calling out, "Love you not me!" When, however, the unsophisticated monarch received the invitation, he proudly replied, "If your king has sent me presents, I also am a king, and this is my land—your father is to come up to me, not I to him."

Newport was not discouraged; but, taking with him Smith and fifty men, repaired to this sylvan court. The coronation took place; but Powhatan appears to have been more surprised than delighted. He made a difficulty even in putting on the scarlet dress from a fear of some magical effect. He strenuously objected to kneeling; on which they long absurdly insisted, but were obliged to be contented with his merely bending the shoulders. A volley fired at the close made him start up in alarm, but he soon recovered his composure.

The king assured them that all their ideas of a salt water beyond the mountains were erroneous, and refused guides for so wild a search. Newport, however, goaded probably by his employers, set out, leaving Smith at Jamestown. The party ascended to the Falls, and even forty miles farther by land. Finding, however, provisions scanty, and their toils always in-

creasing, they commenced a retreat before they had reached the Alleghany. They returned to the town, oppressed "with toil, famine, and discontent;" and the chimera of the South Sea was finally relinquished.

Meantime events occurred at home deeply affecting the interests of the colony. Although the company had been disappointed of their expected returns, the accounts of the extent, beauty, and fertility of the regions just discovered, kindled in that enterprising age an extraordinary enthusiasm. Pamphlets were published, apparently on high authority, painting it as completely an earthly paradise. On a larger scale, and under more enlightened views, it was hoped that the errors which had cramped its progress would be avoided. Many distinguished individuals were ready to embark their fortunes in this enterprise; and, with the consent of the old members, the company was remodelled on a larger scale, and under a new charter. Their territory was augmented from the former one hundred miles of coast to four hundred; being two hundred on each side of Cape Comfort; and it was extended in breadth to the South Sea. James, yielding to some influence which does not distinctly appear, was induced to waive those high claims of sovereignty before so strictly reserved. He allowed the council in England to be chosen by the proprietors, with power to nominate a governor. The Episcopal Church was exclusively established, and all emigrants required to take the oath of supremacy. There appears a peculiar anxiety to exclude Roman Catholics, respecting whom it is observed, in a pamphlet addressed to Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer, "I would have none seasoned with the least taint of that leaven to be settled on this plantation, or any part of that country; but if once perceived, such an one, weede him out; for they will ever be plotting and conspiring to root you out if they can; if you will live and prosper, harbour not this viperous broode in your bosom."

The exertions of the patentees, and the general enthusiasm

kindled throughout the nation, enabled the company to equip an expedition of nine vessels and five hundred emigrants. Lord Delaware, distinguished by his talents and virtues, was named governor for life ; and as he could not depart immediately, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers were to rule in the meantime.

The vessels set sail on the 15th May, 1609, and seven arrived on the 11th August, at Jamestown ; but unfortunately they had encountered a violent storm, in which two, having on board Gates and Summers, were separated and thrown upon the Bermudas. In their absence, Smith justly claimed the rule ; but many of the new-comers, being bankrupts, spend-thrifts, or others sent for doing no good at home, were indisposed to obey him. For some time total anarchy reigned ; but its evils at length became so great, that he was entreated to resume the government. He exerted himself to locate advantageously the emigrants, of whom two parties, one hundred and twenty each, were settled at Nansemond, and at the Falls of James River. Both, however, mismanaged their affairs, quarrelled with the Indians, and lost a number of their men ; while they rejected all his efforts to remedy these disorders. In returning from the latter place, a bag of gunpowder burst and severely mangled his person, so that he reached home in extreme torture. Here he was told that plots were forming against his life. Unable in his debilitated state to struggle against so many difficulties, he returned to England, quitting for ever the colony which had been so much indebted to him. He received at home neither honours nor rewards. The company, prepossessed by his numerous enemies, complained that he had brought no wealth into their coffers, and had acted severely towards the Indians. Posterity has done him justice, perhaps somewhat beyond his merits. His bold and active spirit, with sound practical judgment, eminently qualified him for the station ; though, being somewhat hot and uncompromising in his temper, he excited bitter enmities. A conciliatory disposition

and persuasive powers were, in such a situation, almost indispensable to render his exertions effective. His conduct towards the Indians was in general culpable, and by the hostility which it created, neutralized in a great measure his eminent services.

His eulogium, however, was found in the state of the colony after his departure. Only about thirty or forty acres were cultivated; the ships had brought grain in limited quantity, and much spoiled during the unfortunate voyage. The Indians, no longer overawed by the late president, not only refused victuals, but killed many settlers. Thus there ensued a dreadful famine, long fearfully remembered under the name of the "Starving Time." Many were impelled to the horrid resource of devouring the bodies of the dead; nay, there are dark imputations of murder committed under this fearful impulse. Vessels sent along the rivers were either sunk, or the crews beaten by the savages. Virginia seemed a devoted soil. Of the flourishing colony of five hundred persons, there remained only sixty "most miserable and poor creatures." After a large expenditure, and successive arrivals of emigrants, it had returned almost into its original insignificance.

Meantime, Gates and Summers, after their calamitous shipwreck upon the Bermudas, being delighted with the fine climate and the soil of those islands, employed the winter in forming a settlement there, and surveying the coasts. Although distracted by several violent mutinies, they succeeded in fitting out a pinnace and sailing to Jamestown. They arrived in the month of May; but what was their disappointment, when, instead of repose and refreshment, they discovered such extreme misery. Their scanty stock was now the only support of the settlers, who, in four days, must have been completely famished. The Indians, holding the fort closely blockaded, and cutting down every European that ventured beyond its precincts, precluded all hope of supply. In this extremity no resource appeared to remain but to embark for Newfoundland, and among

the fishing-vessels there find the means of transportation to England. This determination was received with loud shouts and acclamations. By the 6th of June, the preparations were completed, the whole colony was on board, and had begun to move down the river, when a long-boat was met ascending. This proved the precursor of three ships under Lord Delaware, who came with a reinforcement and large supplies, to take the command. Their arrival seeming a special interposition of Providence, the colonists cheerfully resumed their station.

His lordship made great exertions to redeem the affairs of the settlement. The very subjection to one individual so high in character and rank as to preclude rivalry, terminated many causes of disorder. Summers went for provisions to the Bermudas, and Gates to England; but an evil destiny seemed still to beset Virginia. This excellent nobleman, from whom so much was hoped, was by his own statement immediately seized with a severe ague, followed by a flux, and his physician warned him, that if he remained twenty days longer his health would be entirely ruined. He was therefore obliged to return home, leaving Percy in the command. Sir Thomas Dale, who soon after arrived with fresh men and supplies, introduced martial law; a code peculiarly abhorrent to the feelings of freemen. It was perhaps necessary to quell the lawless spirits that had caused such terrible disorders; and he administered it with a moderation which prevented any serious clamour.

The company, meantime, strictly interrogated Gates and Delaware as to what really were their prospects from a colony in which such large funds had been invested. They gave reports most decidedly favourable. His lordship, in a letter addressed to the council, declared the land to be wonderfully fertile in corn and wine, as well as adapted for the rearing of cattle. There were two hundred colonists mostly in good health; and there would be no want of anything, if the action could be upheld with constancy. He was ready to lay out upon it all he

was worth, and to return as soon as he conveniently could. A determination was thereupon formed to persevere, which the king anxiously seconded. He made to them soon after an additional grant of the Bermudas, the flattering descriptions of which had strongly impressed the public mind. He allowed them the more solid benefit of opening a lottery, which, in about ten years, produced 29,000*l.*, and was called "the real food by which Virginia had been nourished." It excited, however, much complaint; and James, on the remonstrances of parliament, at length closed it.

Gates was now sent as governor with six ships, three hundred emigrants, and one hundred cattle, when Dale, with part of the new-comers, went up the river, and formed the settlement of Henrico, named in honour of the Prince of Wales. An interesting event terminated the long hostility with the native tribes. Argall, an enterprising naval commander, contrived, through an Indian who had become his sworn friend, to inveigle on board his vessel the fair Princess Pocahontas. Regardless of her tears and entreaties, he conveyed her to Jamestown, where she was well treated; but, in a negotiation for her ransom, exorbitant terms were demanded, which her father indignantly rejected, and the breach seemed only widened. Happily, the chains of the princess' captivity were lightened by others of a more pleasing nature. Mr. John Rolfe, a respectable young man, was smitten with her dignified demeanour, and found no difficulty in gaining her affections. Some apprehension was felt how his proposal of marriage might be received by the proud and savage parent; but he expressed himself quite delighted, and thereupon entered into a treaty of amity, which he never violated. Though he did not choose to come himself, his brother and son were present at the nuptials. Sir Thomas takes the credit of having already made her a Christian; while Rolfe talks of that as still to be done. However, she was finally converted, and baptized under the name of Rebecca, to which the English prefixed the title of Lady; and her subse-



Capture of Pocahontas.

quent conduct is said to have adorned her profession. Soon after, in company with her husband, she visited England. Smith wrote a letter to her majesty, recounting her good deeds, declaring that she had a great spirit, though a low stature, and beseeching for her a reception corresponding to her rank and merits. She was accordingly introduced at court, and into the circles of fashion, where, as a novelty, she was for some time the leading object, and is said to have deported herself with suitable grace and dignity.

James took an absurd apprehension that Rolfe, on the ground of his wife's birth, might advance a claim to the crown of Virginia. This idea, however, being at length driven out of his mind, he appointed him secretary and recorder-general of the colony. The princess, early in 1617, went to embark at Graves-

end; but Providence had not destined that she should revisit her native shore. She was there seized with an illness which carried her off in a few days; and her last hours are said to have extremely edified the spectators, being full of Christian resignation and hope. She had left a son in the colony, whose offspring, carefully traced, is now numerous, and this descent is the boast of many Virginian families.

About this time a treaty was attempted with Powhatan for the marriage of a second daughter; but though he expressed an earnest wish to maintain friendship with the English, he made apologies, and at length frankly owned, that though ready to give any other pledge of peace, he could not resolve to part with both his darling children. Notwithstanding the example of Rolfe, and the scarcity of females in the settlement, intermarriage between the races never became at all general.

Under Gates and Dale, the colony at length began to take a regular form, and to advance in prosperity. Hitherto it had been conducted on the unhappy system of each individual labouring for a public stock, from which he drew his subsistence. It was thus reckoned that twenty men were required for what could easily have been done by three; hence in a great measure arose those dreadful famines which had nearly exterminated the settlers. Now, in the first instance, a spot of ground and a month in the year were allowed to each; and finally, private property being completely established, fifty acres were granted to such as were able to stock and cultivate them.

From the first settlement the company had shown the most intense anxiety for some production or branch of trade that would bring in money. This desirable object was at length attained by the culture of tobacco, which soon became the staple product of the colony.

In 1616, the colonists had the misfortune to lose Sir Thomas Dale, endeared to them by his mild and beneficent administration. Sir George Yeardley acted for some time as deputy, when Lord Delaware again set sail to assume the command, but un-

fortunately died on the voyage. The government then devolved upon Argall, a brave and successful naval commander, who had added some important possessions to the crown. His conduct has been described as hasty and tyrannical in the highest degree, leaving no security either for life or property. This statement appears exaggerated; his enactments being apparently well meant, though too violent. Accustomed to rule on shipboard with the powers of martial law, he wished to direct everything in the colony as if it had been the deck of a ship of war; and he ignorantly attempted to enforce by statute a higher price for tobacco and other colonial staples. No person, on pain of death, was to teach an Indian to use fire-arms; a law which might have been useful with a milder penalty. Any one absenting himself from church on Sunday was to be a slave during the next week; if a second time, for a month. No body of men who had enjoyed any measure of liberty could sit content under his arbitrary yoke. The company, besieged with complaints, and finding that emigrants were thus deterred, superseded him, replacing the management in the hands of Yeardley.

This interval of despotic rule seems to have had a salutary effect in exciting among the colonists a demand for a constitution more accordant with their British origin. The company, among whom popular ideas had begun to prevail, authorized the new governor not only to form a council, but to convene delegates, who with them and himself should constitute the first representative assembly that met in the western hemisphere. They appear to have entered on their functions with activity, soliciting that martial law should be exchanged for the system of English jurisprudence, which, in a somewhat courtly strain, they expressed a wish to receive from the hands of his majesty. They then enacted a number of laws, which, being sent over for the approbation of the company, were received by that body in a somewhat equivocal manner, who, though they admitted that they were very judiciously formed, sanctioned none of them. Two years after, that body transmitted a new constitu-

tion, so framed as to secure them, in a great measure, against any proceeding contrary to their views. The House of Assembly was to consist of the governor, a council appointed by the corporation at home, and two representatives from each borough. As this meeting amounted to twenty-one, while the delegates from eleven boroughs were twenty-two, the company had only to gain one of the latter in order to obtain the full dictation of every measure. The assembly could be considered as little more than a council, though even in this view it was doubtless beneficial. The company, moreover, reserved to itself a negative on their decisions; though in return they granted one to the assembly upon their own ordinances.

Meantime, a remarkable change had taken place in their constitution. At first all the transactions were carried on by the council, the other members being merely summoned occasionally to fill up its vacancies. The early disasters and the total absence of profit probably excited clamours, which, at its last patent in 1611, led to the arrangement that the whole body should be convened weekly or even oftener, and decide on all affairs of any importance. In these meetings, attended often by two or three hundred, a reforming party arose, who not only arraigned various measures, but called for an entire change of management as the only effectual remedy for the existing evils. After a series of struggles, this faction, early in 1619, attained a complete ascendancy, which they used to eject Sir Thomas Smith, against whom heavy and reiterated complaints had been made, from the office of treasurer, and to appoint in his stead Sir Edwin Sandys. This officer, seconded by Lord Southampton, Sir John Danvers, and other patriotic members, began a series of most active exertions for raising the colony from its deep depression. After 80,000*l.* expended in the course of twelve years, it contained still not more than six hundred inhabitants. They published a statement tending to remove the unfavourable effect derived from so many failures. The country is described as rich, spacious, and well watered,

“abounding with all God’s natural blessings, and too good for ill people.” But silence is observed with regard to tobacco, on which a heavy odium still rested. The iron is described as admirable, the timber the finest in the world, and capable of yielding in perfection tar, pitch, and ashes. The main hope, however, was still placed in silk and wine, the capacity for which is said to be perfectly equal to Italy and Persia; and though the attempts hitherto made had failed, they would be renewed with more ample means, skill, and care. To compensate to the proprietors for the entire want of dividends, and at the same time encourage settlement, it was voted that for every 1*l.*, 10*s.* of stock, there should be granted one hundred acres, and on the occupation of this, a second hundred. Every one who should emigrate at his own expense was to receive fifty acres, on which, only after a lapse of seven years, he was to pay a quit-rent of 12*d.* Very advantageous patents were granted to those who undertook to convey emigrants, and by the exertions of the company, there were despatched in the course of 1619, twelve ships of from seventy to three hundred and fifty tons, and conveying no fewer than twelve hundred and sixty-one persons, being more than double the number actually residing. Ninety maidens of unblemished reputation were sent, to enable some of the settlers to enjoy the comforts of matrimony. Next year, a fresh body of eight hundred were despatched, including one hundred females. In short, during 1619, and the two following years, there were conveyed thirty-five hundred and seventy men and women, with fifteen hundred head of cattle, raising the population to more than six times its previous number. The limits of settlement were thus extended, more than sixty miles along the river; but the hope of prosperity thereby opened was marred by a dreadful and unexpected calamity.

Ever since the marriage of Pocahontas, the English and natives had lived in a state of peace, and even of amity. Powhatan was now dead; but his successor had expressed the

strongest desire to maintain undisturbed the existing harmony. Sir Francis Wyatt, sent out as governor in 1621, received instructions to observe strictly all existing treaties; and the company, it appears, proceeded on the principle of occupying no lands without previous purchase. Under these circumstances, every trace of the former enmity between the two races seemed obliterated; even the prohibition against holding and using fire-arms was discontinued; and the Indians lived in the most familiar manner, entering at pleasure the houses of the planters. Yet, in fact, a fearful change had taken place, and the most fatal designs were already secretly formed. The English writers assert, that there was absolutely nothing to account for or palliate their savage purpose; but it ought to be observed, that the Indians have not been heard for themselves. It was impossible for them to view without alarm the large bodies which arrived in such rapid succession, rendering the population more dense than the original native one; and as this increase seemed to go on without intermission, it would soon give to the foreigners an overwhelming superiority.

With regard to the boast of uniform good treatment, we are disposed to suspect, that, amid the miscellaneous multitude poured into the colony, and hastily settled in places remote from the seat of government, many may have been guilty of violence, or of contempt more intolerable still to proud minds. Certain it is, a day was fixed on which the whole of this dreaded race was to be exterminated from the Virginian soil. The utmost kindness, and even fondness, shown to individuals was to procure no exemption; it was to be a national doom and deed. The secret, too, was kept with that profound dissimulation which so deeply marks savage vengeance. Opechancanough, the king, several days before, had declared that sooner the skies would fall than his friendship with the English be dissolved. They continued, to the last moment, visiting, conversing, and holding the most friendly intercourse with those whom they were about to slay. There was only



The Christian Indian discovering the plot of the Massacre.

one exception, which saved the colony. A gentleman, named Pace, had an Indian domestic, whom he had not only treated with peculiar kindness, but had converted to the Christian religion. Late at night the mandate was delivered to him to murder his master next day ; instead of which he rose from bed, and warned him of the danger. Pace was separated from Jamestown by the river, three miles broad ; but he hastily rose, got into a boat, crossed over, and gave the alarm at the government-house. Thence expresses were sent to all places within reach ; and thus Henrico and Charles, the only villages, as well as the densest cluster of plantations, were saved. But in the more remote settlements the storm fell in all its fury. While the English, without the slightest suspicion, were busied in their usual occupations in the field, house, and garden, the Indians, with their own arms, or any edge-tools of which they could lay hold, struck them dead before conscious of any danger.



The Great Massacre.

Amid the general dismay, exaggerated reports were circulated, and have even been admitted into respectable narratives. Smith states the number of victims at five thousand, while, in a pamphlet ascribed to Berkeley, it is rated at two thousand. These, however, were hearsay accounts. The company immediately published a statement furnished from the colony by Edward Waterhouse, one of their servants, in which is inserted the name of every sufferer, "that their lawful heirs might claim the inheritance;" and the whole list does not exceed three hundred and forty-seven. This, at a time when there must have been in the colony somewhat above four thousand, was not a great numerical loss: but it obliged them to relinquish all their outer stations, to crowd the plantations inconveniently together, and to keep constantly on the watch. In England, the dread and horror which the tidings excited for some time withheld adventurers. But perhaps the greatest evil consisted in

the state of relentless hostility in which it placed them with the native tribes. Waterhouse, in terms which we cannot approve, represents it as an advantage; that their hands were thereby set at liberty; that instead of purchasing waste land at large prices, "we may now, by right of war and law of nations, invade the country and destroy them who sought to destroy us; we shall enjoy their cultivated places, turning the laborious mattock into the victorious sword (where both more ease, benefit, and glory), and possessing the fruits of others' labours." The Indians were very unequal to the contest which they had barbarously provoked. They had indeed procured a quantity of arms and gunpowder; but they sowed most of the latter, expecting it to yield a crop like maize. They wanted implements as well as discipline to contend with their civilized enemies; and hence by degrees they were either exterminated or driven to the westward.

This event was particularly disastrous to the company, in reference to a momentous contest in which they were involved at home. James soon viewed with an evil eye their numerous meetings and warm debates, which were represented to him as a seminary for a seditious parliament. This umbrage was much increased owing to the ascendancy gained by the reforming party, who were identical with that which in the lower house supported popular rights against his prerogative. This body, on the expiry of Sir Edwin Sandys' year of service, were fully prepared to re-elect him. But on meeting for that purpose, what was their consternation when there was presented to them on the king's part a list of six, out of which they were required to choose a treasurer! This being declared to be a decided violation of their privileges, Lords Pembroke and Southampton undertook to speak to his majesty on the subject. They found that his main objection was pointed against the present treasurer; and he at last ungraciously waived every other point, saying "Choose the d——l, if you please, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." This being reported at the next meeting, the com-

pany "were in the height of discontent," and a collision with the crown seemed inevitable, when Sir John Danvers drew aside Lord Southampton, and dealt with him "to own the place." His lordship said he knew he would thus incur his sovereign's severe displeasure; but in order that this pious and glorious work might be encouraged, they might do with him what they pleased. His high character secured his immediate election, and he made extraordinary exertions for the improvement of the colony. Both he and Sandys, however, were soon after committed to the Tower, when Danvers succeeded as treasurer. At the same time, James laid the most exorbitant taxes on tobacco, which might seem inconsistent with his having so vehemently denounced it as odious and pernicious; but he argued that, being therefore entitled to banish or burn it, any milder course might be considered lenient. Urged, doubtless, by his necessities, he at one time offered for 20,000*l.* to leave the entire trade in the hands of the company; and some of the leading members were disposed to have agreed, but the others considered the sacrifice too great.

Being unable to bring the association to his terms, the king determined to proceed to extremity against them. A proposal was transmitted to them to surrender their charter and receive another, according to which he should appoint all the principal officers, and exercise the whole real power. This blow was so unexpected, that the members could not believe their own ears, and caused the letter to be read three times over. They then remained for some time unable to utter a word, when at length Argall rose, and proposed a compliance with the royal demand. It was carried against him by one hundred and twelve to eight; and an extraordinary general court being soon after called, although many absented themselves, there was still a majority on this side of seventy to nine. The monarch, however, being determined to carry his point, raised against them a writ of *quo warranto*. Their books and papers were seized, and a commission sent out to Virginia, professedly to investigate, but really

to collect evidence against this devoted body. Many great abuses had distinguished its early management; and, though these had been almost entirely reformed, the public did not very nicely discriminate. The only recent reproach had been the want of precaution against the Indians, which belonged rather to the local than to the home administration; yet the calamity had been so direful as to create a feeling against the whole. Smith, indignant at perhaps unmerited neglect, gave his testimony against them. Finally, the courts, composed then of judges removable by the crown, passed, in June, 1624, a sentence declaring the charter forfeited.

His majesty in this whole transaction appears to have been actuated by nothing but avarice and the love of power. He attacked the company, not during their early misconduct, but when, having renovated themselves, they had commenced a career of patriotic exertion, and he leagued himself with Sir Thomas Smith and others, the real authors of these abuses. Generally, indeed, a royal administration is better calculated to direct a rising colony, than a commercial company, always intent on present profit. Yet Virginia would probably have benefited by a few more years of the zealous exertions made by the late council.

It has been asserted by Mr. Chalmers, and generally believed, that James abolished all the franchises of Virginia; but Mr. Bancroft's careful researches seem to prove that there was no constitutional change. The assemblies remained as before; and as the boroughs increased with the population, this independent part rose into greater importance. Wyatt was continued in office, and a council appointed with great impartiality. They were referred for their rule of conduct to the precedent of the last five years, which Mr. Chalmers thoughtlessly calls a period of the greatest tyranny; whereas it was that during which a representative government had been granted and the colony every way well governed.

The sovereign continued to secure tobacco against rivalry in

Britain; but he prohibited its exportation, and had made arrangements for confining the whole trade to his agents, who were to receive the produce at a stipulated price, and retail it for him,—a project which was arrested by his death on the 27th March, 1625. He left behind him an equivocal and rather low reputation; yet his zeal for the promotion of colonial interests appears to have been sincere, and formed perhaps the best trait in his character.

• Charles I. inherited the arbitrary principles of his father, but with a mild though somewhat unsteady disposition. He appears never to have thought of altering the Virginian constitution; and, on the death of Wyatt, appointed Sir George Yeardley, a highly popular governor. He endeavoured, however, to follow up the tobacco monopoly; but, through a strong remonstrance, signed by the governor, five of the council, and thirty-one burgesses, he was induced to desist. On the death of Yeardley in 1627, the council elected, successively, West and Pott, as interim-governors.

In 1629, John Harvey was sent out by Charles, with a considerable number of emigrants, though under unfavourable auspices, having been distinguished as an enemy to the late popular managers. Historians, in general, have represented this government as one of unmixed tyranny. “Under him,” says Chalmers, “the Virginians seem to have been ruled rather as the vassals of an eastern despot, than as the subjects of the King of England. They were governed as a conquered people, without either moderation, or good humour, or justice.” Yet, Mr. Bancroft, by reference to the statute-book, has ascertained that the charge of levying taxes without a representative sanction is unfounded,—the assembly having regularly met during the whole period of his administration. The chief complaints are a rigid exaction of certain fines, and a haughty demeanour towards the council; and it was by them, not the people, that in 1636, he was sent to England, loaded with heavy charges. Charles would not even admit his accusers to an audience; and, though



Arrest of Harvey.

this was doubtless prompted by his high notions of prerogative, yet, as his temper was humane, it becomes the more improbable that the alleged crimes were very atrocious. Harvey returned triumphant, and continued in office more than two years, when he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt. The latter, after two years more, yielded the place to Sir William Berkeley, who assumed the government in February, 1642.

Berkeley has been generally panegyricized as the greatest benefactor of Virginia, and the most perfect model of a colonial ruler. We find some difficulty in discovering wherein this superlative excellence consisted. In religion, he was a complete bigot to the Church of England, and by prohibiting every other form of worship, drove or kept thousands out of the settlement. He opposed the most determined resistance to the diffusion of knowledge, even in its most elementary form, saying, "Thank God, there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects, into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." He no doubt showed a laudable anxiety for the physical well-being of the people,

yet he appears to have carried to excess the reigning antipathy to tobacco, devoting his efforts wholly to the production of silk, wine, glass, ashes, and similar articles, which the circumstances of the colony rendered premature. All his views, indeed, were shared by the leading men in the plantation, and standing foremost in support of their errors, he obtained their applause. His popularity appears to have been aided by mild and conciliatory manners. Mr. Bancroft, however, has clearly shown, in opposition to Chalmers, and even to Story, that he carried out no new franchises; and that the representative assembly, which he is described as having restored, had never ceased to meet.

Ever since the dreadful massacre of 1622, a vindictive warfare had been waged with the Indians, chiefly by predatory incursions into their territory; and in the year 1643, the assembly voted that no terms of peace with them should be entertained. That unfortunate people, driven to despair, again entered into a general confederacy, hoping, by a sudden attack, to cut off the hated race who had seized their lands. This step could not now be reproached with treachery, nor could suspicion be lulled by professions of friendship; yet through their habits of deep dissimulation, they, in some degree, effected a surprise. About three hundred colonists were killed; but as soon as the main body were roused, the savage assailants were completely defeated, pursued into their own country, and Opechancanough, their king, taken prisoner. Though well treated, he felt indignant at the multitudes who were allowed to come into his prison, and satisfy their curiosity by viewing his person; assuring Berkeley that, had fortune reversed their situation, he would not have meanly exhibited his captive as a show. A brutal soldier put an end to his life by shooting him in the back; and the Indians were now so far overawed, that the governor, in 1646, could impose a treaty, including an extensive cession of territory. A considerable interval of tranquillity now elapsed.

Meantime, the great civil contest was waged in England,



Opechancanough reproving Berkeley.

which terminated in the death of Charles I., the temporary downfall of the throne and aristocracy, and the establishment of a republic. These proceedings were in the highest degree distasteful to the high church and monarchy men of Virginia. They not only declined all concurrence, but announced a determination to resist them at the peril of their lives. On the execution of the king, his exiled son was immediately proclaimed sovereign, and his rule continued in the American colony, after it had ceased in every part of his European dominions. He forwarded to Sir William Berkeley a fresh commission, authoriz-

ing him to erect fortifications; and, in return, that governor transmitted to Charles assurances of the most ardent zeal for his house, and hinted an invitation that he should take up his residence in the New World.

The leaders of the Long Parliament, statesmen of the highest vigour, and flushed with their signal triumph, were not likely to allow their power to be braved by an infant colony beyond the seas. In 1650, a memorable ordinance was passed, in which this republican body laid down maxims, afterwards considered so tyrannical as to drive all America into rebellion and separation. It recited, "that colonies planted at the cost of and settled by the people and by the authority of this nation, are and ought to be subordinate to and dependent upon England; that they ever have been and ought to be subject to such laws and regulations as are or shall be made by the parliament." Proceeding still farther, on the ground that divers acts of rebellion had been committed by the Virginians, who had set themselves in opposition to the power of the commonwealth, the edict declared them "notorious robbers and traitors," forbade all intercourse with them, and authorized the sending of a fleet to reduce them to obedience.

On condition of acknowledging the commonwealth, they were offered a free pardon, and all the privileges now enjoyed by the English people; while in case of resistance, war was to be waged with unsparing energy, and even the negro slaves and indentured servants were to be armed against their masters. In pursuance of these instructions, Sir George Ayscue, a distinguished naval commander, was sent out with a strong fleet, having on board a body of troops. For the settlement of the civil government, five commissioners were nominated, two of whom, Bennet and Clayborne, belonged to Virginia, but had distinguished themselves there by opposition to the ruling party.

In March, 1652, Ayscue anchored in Chesapeake Bay, when the colonists, listening to the dictates of prudence rather than of heroism, and without drawing a sword, opened a nego-

tiation with the invaders. The terms were liberal, chiefly, it should seem, because the parliament had no wish to impose others. The Virginians obtained a complete amnesty; they were promised a trade as free as that of England, and were confirmed in all their political rights. They obtained even a new privilege in the election of their own governor; but that this was merely nominal, seems proved by their unanimous choice of Bennet, the chief parliamentary commissioner, who, for his puritan and republican principles, had shortly before been banished from the colony. Bennet appears to have been a respectable and moderate man, whose personal wrongs did not impel him to any vindictive measures.

The interests of the colony were more seriously affected through an act passed by parliament in 1652, restricting the traffic of the colonies to the mother country. This certainly appears, as Mr. Graham observes, a breach of the capitulation allowing them a trade as free as that of England. We are, however, inclined to believe that the restriction was not enforced with great rigour; and that the advancing prosperity of the colony was rather promoted by the new system. It put an end to the persecution of the puritans, by which many industrious citizens had been driven away; and, with the exception only of the Quakers, complete religious liberty was established.

Bennet, for what reason does not appear, retired from the government early in 1655; and the assembly supplied his place by Edward Diggs, of whom nothing particular is recorded. Early in 1658, another vacancy occurred, when the office was filled by Samuel Matthews, an old hospitable planter, and "a most deserving commonwealth's man;" which last quality, we suspect, was still rendered necessary by the dread of English authority. The assembly took advantage, however, of the liberal ideas newly introduced to extend their own functions; and they succeeded in ejecting from their sittings the governor and council, whose power of voting had greatly restricted their

independence. They enlarged the elective franchise, which was made to include all freemen; the indented servants being allowed to exercise it at the expiration of their term. They obliged the governor to yield the right of dissolving them; and when he threatened an appeal to the supreme tribunal at home, they deposed and then re-elected him, on condition of submitting to their terms. They thus centered in themselves nearly all the powers of the state. Finally, taking advantage, we suspect, of Cromwell's inattention rather than receiving his sanction, they threw open their commerce to all the world.

On the death of the Protector being announced, the assembly without hesitation recognised his son Richard, taking precaution, however, that their newly obtained privileges should not be abridged. On receiving the notice of his forced abdication, they proved the unaltered state of their political feelings by recalling to the government their old favourite, Sir William Berkeley. This, however, says Murray, did not amount, as has been sometimes supposed, to a premature recognition of Charles II. It was declared by both parties to be merely a provisional measure amid the present distractions, and until some positive instructions could be received from England. But it was a daring step, which would doubtless have drawn down the resentment of the republican party, could they have retained their power. All apprehensions were removed by the intelligence of the restoration of the young king, an event which, though it made a gloomy impression on other colonies, was received here with the highest exultation. Berkeley, with general consent, exercised his functions of governor under the royal commission. In his majesty's name he called an assembly, the composition of which clearly showed that the general will had not before been fully represented, since, of the members of the preceding parliament, only eight were re-elected.

The aristocratic rule was thus fully restored; but its influence in many respects was not auspicious. The exclusive establishment of the English Church, and the persecution of

dissenters, which had deprived the country of so many valuable citizens, were renewed in all their rigour. The suffrage, which under the commonwealth had been made universal, was limited now to freeholders and householders, leaving the range still sufficiently wide. A more serious innovation respected the period of sitting, which had been made biennial, and was not indeed altered by law; but the assembly actually prolonged its own duration for ten or twelve successive years, and showed even then no intention of dissolving, had circumstances not compelled them. All means of instructing and enlightening the people were systematically discouraged.

The restoration exposed the colonists to another great evil, which they seemed to have little reason to apprehend. The Navigation Act, passed under the commonwealth, limiting their commerce to the mother country, had been much evaded, and latterly altogether disregarded. Its provisions, however, were now re-enacted with increased rigour, and with strict rules for their enforcement; and the merchants of England, imbued with the erroneous notions then prevalent respecting the advantages derivable from such monopolies, used all their influence in its support. Even Charles showed a zeal on the subject which could scarcely have been expected from his careless temper. The Virginians requested Berkeley to repair to London and plead their cause, which he seems to have done zealously. He represented the low state to which the colony was reduced by the depression in the price of tobacco, their only exportable staple; wine and silk having hitherto failed. At present, it could ill afford the 40,000*l.* which the monopoly cost, and all of which went to enrich a few English merchants. He urged, with or without reason, that while the turbulent New Englanders hesitated not to evade or disregard these regulations, the loyal Virginians submitted, and became the victims of their obedience. All these arguments were vainly urged to a nation and sovereign who regarded the measure with such fond partiality.

An internal cause still more cruelly interrupted the success of

the colony. The Indians, once so hostile, had for a long time been overawed or conciliated; but the Susquehannas, a singularly fierce tribe, having been driven from the north by the Five Nations, began to commit depredations upon the frontiers. The colonists on the border, possessing doubtless much of the lawless character of back-settlers, violently retaliated. Six chiefs, sent by the Indians to treat for peace, were seized and put to death; and the just indignation expressed by Berkeley at this outrage gave great offence. After war had raged some time, that people again made pacific overtures, but without success. The governor, however, endeavoured to second their object, and to mitigate the ferocious spirit which now animated the colonists. These humane efforts were adverse to their present disposition, and lost to him that popularity which he had so long enjoyed, while his views and even his errors were in unison with theirs. The consequences soon proved disastrous.

Nathaniel Bacon, son of a respectable family in Suffolk, carried out the unusual fortune of 1800*l.*, and, possessing an uncommon share of address, eloquence, and intelligence, acquired great influence and a seat in the council. Having formed a border plantation on the upper part of James river, he found the war raging with the Indians, who carried it on with their usual cruelties. Ill-informed perhaps of the wrongs by which they had been impelled, he sympathized with the sufferings of his countrymen, and entertained an eager desire for revenge. A farm of his own being attacked, and the servants killed, he took up arms without the knowledge of Berkeley, and rallying round him all inspired by similar sentiments, was soon at the head of five hundred men. The governor denounced this armament as rebellious, and issued a mandate to disperse, which was partly obeyed. His attention was distracted, however, by a rising of the popular party in the lower province, to resist the aristocratic ascendant. The two interests became united; and the government, unable to resist, were obliged to agree that the assembly, having now sat an exorbitant time, should be dis-

solved, and a new one elected. The result was entirely on the popular side; universal suffrage was restored; all arbitrary taxation abolished; and various abuses suppressed, though without any vindictive proceedings against their authors.

Bacon had at first been made prisoner; but on so strong a manifestation of the assembly's will, he was set at liberty, and even promised a commission; but this was ultimately refused. He then secretly withdrew, and assembled five or six hundred men, with whom he became complete master of the government. Sir William strenuously resisted; and, with the boldness of an old cavalier, bared his breast to the adversary, saying, "A fair mark—shoot!" Bacon declared they did not wish to hurt a hair of his head, but only desired a commission to save their lives from the Indians. The authority was granted to him, and he marched to the frontier.

As soon, however, as the immediate pressure was removed, the governor, rashly, as it should seem, published a proclamation, reversing all the proceedings of the assembly, and again declaring Bacon a traitor. This step immediately kindled a civil war. That daring chief marched back towards Jamestown, and was joined by numerous adherents of the popular class. The property of the royalists was confiscated, their wives seized, and carried along with the troops as hostages; and these violences being retaliated, wide devastation was spread over the country. Berkeley, meantime, had assembled in the capital his friends, with some seamen landed from vessels in the harbour. Here, however, they were soon besieged, and being repulsed in a sally, found themselves no match for the hardy borderers. It was necessary to evacuate the town during the night, and withdraw his entire force to the eastern shore, leaving the whole west in possession of the insurgents.

Bacon now acted entirely as ruler of Virginia, and declaring the governor to have abdicated, summoned an assembly in his own name. It was determined to resist any attempts from the mother country to restore Berkeley to power, and, indeed, the

resolution was almost fixed to throw off its yoke altogether. As Jamestown might afford a position for establishing an English force, the violent measure was adopted of devoting it to the flames. This was executed with such ruthless determination, that the fires being kindled in the night, there remained in the morning scarcely a vestige of that original capital, which has never again reared its head. Nothing now appeared to remain but to cross the river and drive before them the discouraged remnant of Berkeley's forces. Suddenly, however, the leader sickened, and, after a short illness, died; a catastrophe that put an end to the insurrection, which, after all, had not any deep root among the nation. Its temporary success seems to have been owing to the union of the border settlers with the popular faction; but the latter, forming still a decided minority, could not permanently support it. Several of the leaders attempted to stand, but were successively reduced and taken by Beverley, an active royalist chief.

The governor, whose feelings seem throughout the whole transaction to have been greatly excited, acted now with excessive rigour. Twenty persons were hanged, and it is supposed that a greater number would have endured the same punishment, had not the assembly presented an address, entreating "that he would spill no more blood." One of the deputies said, "had we let him alone, he would have hanged half the country." Charles II., whose disposition was not cruel, exclaimed, "the old fool has taken away more lives than I for the murder of my father," and issued a proclamation censuring this conduct as derogatory to his clemency.

Sir William was recalled, and his place temporarily supplied by Colonel Jeffereys, who, with two others, constituted a commission of inquiry. They seem to have made it very searching, with even a friendly disposition toward the people. The different counties were invited to produce statements of grievances, and the records of the assembly were forced from their clerk, —a measure against which they strongly remonstrated. A re-

port was drawn up, in which, while the conduct of the insurgents was strongly condemned, that of the government and several members of the council was also censured. These reflections against Berkeley are supposed to have hastened his death, which took place before he had an interview with the king. The assembly then felt a revival of their old attachment. They passed a vote, declaring, that he had been an excellent governor, and recommended a grant to Lady Berkeley of 300*l*. Jeffereys, during his short administration, had the satisfaction of putting an end, on approved terms, to the Indian war.

We must now mention, that in 1649, after the death of Charles I., several royalist noblemen had obtained a grant of the territory between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, called the Northern Neck of Virginia, with the view of making it a place of refuge for their adherents. This donation, owing to the ruin of their cause, did not then take effect; and in 1669, the owners sold their rights to Lords Culpeper and Arlington. The former, in 1673, procured also from the thoughtless monarch a lease for thirty-one years of the quit-rents, escheats, and other casualties, of all Virginia. The colonists sent a deputation, strenuously to remonstrate against this arrangement, as interfering with the actual state of property and occupation; but though they received favourable promises, they did not ultimately succeed. On the contrary, Charles now granted a patent to Culpeper as governor for life; who, aiming only at gain, was in no haste to take possession of so troubled a country, and went at last only in obedience to an urgent mandate from the king.

The colony was found tolerably quiet, and a general amnesty was proclaimed, with very few exceptions. Penalties were enacted against those who should defame the administration, propagate false news, and maliciously stir up the people against the governor. Limits were set to the popular composition of the assembly, as well as to the frequency and duration of its

sittings. An appeal from the courts, hitherto allowed to that body, was now vested solely in the crown. After all, the severest suffering arose from the extremely low price still brought by tobacco; and hence the desperate expedient was imagined, of entirely suspending its cultivation for a year. The assembly passed an act to that effect, which was negatived by the crown; yet so bent were the colonists upon it, that they formed an association to destroy all that was planted within the period. This spirit rose to a sort of rebellion, and was put down only by some severe examples. An act was also passed to promote cohabitation, or the formation of towns, with a view to establish manufactures. This was a premature attempt to force a branch for which the country was by no means ripe; yet the negative on it from England, being inspired probably by monopolizing views, caused great discontent.

Culpeper was avaricious and unpopular. He raised his own allowance to an exorbitant height; he altered the value of the coin; he appeared to dislike the settlement as a residence, making only two short compulsory visits. He enforced also in a grasping manner his proprietary patent. Heavy complaints were sent home, to which Charles, who regretted perhaps having parted with so much power, not unwillingly listened. His commission as governor was subjected to the decision of a jury of Middlesex, who declared it forfeited. Virginia became again a royal colony, and no future ruler held his office except at the pleasure of the crown.

Lord Howard of Effingham, who succeeded, did not render himself more acceptable, being accused of studying profit still more devotedly, and of securing it by the meanest practices. He established a Court of Chancery with exorbitant fees, and is alleged to have shared the emoluments of this and other departments with his own clerks. He carried with him very arbitrary instructions against printing, and for the enforcement of the Navigation Act, which had begun to be relaxed. He terminated, however, an Indian war; the assembly passed

some useful laws, and though, from the low price of its staple, wealth did not flow in, the population probably continued to multiply.

James II. continued Lord Effingham, and of course his arbitrary system. Yet his declarations in favour of toleration, though made for the interest of the Catholics, procured some relief to the oppressions endured by the dissenters. A casual advantage arose from the excessive rigour against the adherents of Monmouth. When Jefferies and Kirke had sated themselves with blood, a number of minor offenders were adjudged to servitude in Virginia for ten years. The courtiers eagerly contended for lots of these exiles, who made a valuable addition to the population; and after the Revolution, they received a pardon.

Effingham, apparently disgusted with the discontent of the people, returned to England in 1688, followed by Philip Ludwell, who, as agent for the assembly, brought heavy charges against him. These fell under the cognizance of William III.; but that monarch, being, for the colonies by no means popularly inclined, determined mostly in his favour. He was reinstated, on condition, however, of exercising his functions by a deputy, Colonel Nicholson. The latter was furnished with very arbitrary instructions, and desired even to avoid if possible the calling of an assembly. But, being an intelligent man, he soon saw that this was out of the question, and summoned one with a good grace. Many of the colonists were gaily disposed, and he instituted races and trials of skill in shooting, wrestling, and other exercises, with which they were highly gratified. Finding also a laudable desire to emerge out of the profound ignorance in which they had been so studiously kept, he provided a royal donative for the foundation of a college named William and Mary. This seminary, the first established in the southern settlements, excited an intense interest, and persons crowded from all the neighbouring colonies to witness its opening. He seconded also for some time their favourite scheme of

cohabitation and manufactures, but was obliged to desist by orders from home.

In 1692, the government was conferred on Sir Edward Andros, while Nicholson went as his lieutenant to Maryland. This appointment on the part of William was little expected; the deputy having had in New England the reputation of an oppressive tool of the despotism of James. His arrival accordingly excited the most sinister apprehensions, which were happily disappointed. Being a man of sense and ability, he accommodated himself to changed circumstances, pursued the course of his predecessor with more judgment, and enjoyed still greater popularity. In six years he was recalled, and the colonists again got Nicholson; but a very unfavourable change had taken place in his character. Of a bold and aspiring disposition, he had formed the plan of a general combination of the colonies for mutual defence. A pecuniary contingent was to be paid by each, to be placed at the king's disposal for maintaining troops and erecting forts. This plan obtained the hearty consent of William, and the governor, hoping to be placed at its head, most zealously promoted it. He was deeply disappointed when the assembly met it by an unqualified rejection. He induced the king to recommend the measure to them, but without effect, and his majesty did not choose to take any stronger course.

Nicholson, completely chagrined, took every opportunity of representing the Virginians in an unfavourable light, and recommending an abridgment of their liberties. He described them to the ministers of Anne as imbued with "republican notions and principles, such as ought to be corrected, and lowered in time;" complaining that "those wrong pernicious notions were improving daily, not only in Virginia, but in all her majesty's other governments." In subsequent memorials, he suggested that all the American colonies should be reduced under one viceroy, and a standing army maintained. But though jealous feelings were thus infused, the English ministers were

not rash enough to involve themselves in such a scheme; and, in 1704, Nicholson was recalled.

He was succeeded by the Earl of Orkney, who held the office thirty-six years, but merely as a sinecure. He or the ministers, however, were happy in their settlement of deputies. Edward Nott, the first, and still more, his successor, Alexander Spotswood, gave the highest satisfaction. The latter not only promoted internal improvement, but undertook an expedition to the westward of the Alleghany. This barrier, after numerous obstacles, was passed, though no settlements were yet attempted. He, however, strongly recommended the formation of a chain of forts along this frontier, to keep in check the encroachments of the French from Canada and Louisiana; but the government were not disposed to spend large sums in guarding against a danger so little imminent.

Virginia, from this period till the peace of 1763, enjoyed an uninterrupted prosperity, with so few internal vicissitudes that they have escaped the notice of history. She was engaged in military operations against the French and their Indian allies; but as these were common to the whole range of states, we prefer to make them with some other matters the subject of a general chapter.





George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.

THOUGH the colonization of Maryland took place at a later period than that of New England, its relations with Virginia are so close, that these colonies will be best considered in connexion with each other.

The Virginian company, by their second charter, had assigned to them a region of vast extent, including, doubtless, the heads of the great Bays of Delaware and Chesapeake. This grant, we have seen, was forfeited; yet the colonists continued anxiously to claim and consider the whole as Virginia, though their title could not stand against the regal power influenced by the solicitations of a favourite. Sir George Calvert had been secretary of state under James I., but having become a convert to the Romish religion, he was excluded from office, and seems thenceforth to have directed his ambition wholly to colonial enterprise. The change had not withdrawn the court favour, particularly of Charles I. and his queen Henrietta Maria. He therefore easily obtained a liberal grant in Newfoundland, which he made great exertions to settle and improve; but finding his expectations fallacious, he was attracted by the much more promising territory on the Chesapeake, and actually went out thither to negotiate arrangements for a colony. Virginia, as we have already seen, was established on a system of complete religious exclusion; so that immediately on his arrival the oath of supremacy was tendered him, which induced his speedy departure. He possessed, nevertheless, in royal influence the means not only of securing his own interest, but of avenging himself for those hostile proceedings. He obtained from Charles the gift of an extensive region which Virginia had fondly cherished as her own, extending from the southern bank of the Potomac northwards to the 40th degree of latitude, and thus including the upper part of the Bay of Chesapeake, and the whole of that of Delaware. In compliment to the queen, who is understood to have warmly seconded his views, it was named Maryland.

The influence and favour enjoyed by Calvert, now created Lord Baltimore, are strikingly proved by the terms of the grant. Charles, notwithstanding his despotic feelings, reserved neither the right of taxation nor of giving laws; these were to be exercised by the proprietor, with the assent of the freemen or

their deputies, whose assembly was to be made "in such sort and form as to him should seem best." Moreover, in emergencies, when there was not time to call them together, he might of himself make "fit and wholesome ordinances," not stated as temporary, but "to be inviolably observed." By a very singular clause, meant, it should seem, to blind the public at home, he was empowered to found churches and chapels, "according to the ecclesiastical law of England." He might also train, muster, and call out troops, exercise all the functions of captain-general, and, in case of rebellion or sedition, proclaim martial law. He had likewise the nomination of the judges and all other officers. Nothing being left to the crown but the usual empty claim of the royal mines, Maryland became, what indeed the proprietor terms it, a separate monarchy.

George, the first Lord Baltimore, died before the completion of the charter, which was therefore granted to his son Cecil, on whom devolved the establishment of the colony. He appears to have applied himself to the task with activity and judgment; and states that he spent upon it above 20,000*l.* from his own funds, and an equal sum raised among his friends. Warned by Virginian disasters, he avoided from the first all chimerical projects, and placed his establishment entirely on an agricultural basis. Every one who carried out five persons, male or female, paying their expenses, estimated at 20*l.* each, was to receive one thousand acres. Those defraying their own charges got one hundred for themselves, and the same for each adult member of their family; for children under six years, fifty acres. The rent was 2*s.* for each hundred acres. Lord Baltimore did not rule in person, nor, so far as we can trace, even visit the colony, at least till after the Restoration. Two of his brothers, however, acted successively as governors, and died there.

In November, 1633, Leonard Calvert set sail with the first emigrants, consisting of about two hundred persons. In February, he touched at Point Comfort, in Virginia, where his arrival was by no means acceptable; nevertheless Sir John



Settlement of St. Mary's.

Harvey, in obedience to the express orders of Charles, gave him a courteous reception. Early in March, he entered the Potomac, to the people on the shores of which the sight of so large a vessel was quite new, and caused the utmost astonishment. The report was, that a canoe was approaching as big as an island, with men standing in it thick as trees in a forest; and they thought with amazement how enormous must have been the trunk out of which it had been hollowed. A piece of ordnance, resounding for the first time on the shores of this mighty river, caused the whole country to tremble. The intercourse, however, appears to have been judiciously conducted, and was, on the whole, very amicable. Calvert sailed up to Piscataqua, an Indian settlement nearly opposite the present site of Mount Vernon, where the chief received him with kindness,

saying, "he would not bid him go, neither would he bid him stay; he might use his own discretion." On reflection, he considered the place too far up the river, and therefore the vessel was moved down to a tributary named then St. George's, and now St. Mary's. Ascending it four leagues, he came to a considerable Indian town, named Yoacomoco, afterwards called St. Mary's by the colonists; and being hospitably received, as well as pleased with the situation, he determined to fix his colony there. The Werowannee accepted an invitation on board, and Sir John Harvey having just arrived from Virginia, the chief was led down to the cabin, and seated at dinner between the two governors. An alarm having spread among the people on shore that he was detained as a prisoner, they made the banks echo with shouts of alarm; the Indian attendants durst not go to them, but when he himself appeared on deck, they were satisfied. He became so much attached to the English as to declare, that if they should kill him he would not wish his death avenged, being sure that he must have deserved his fate. Amid these dispositions, it was not difficult to negotiate the formation of a settlement. For hatchets, hoes, knives, cloth, and other articles of probably very small original cost, the strangers not only obtained a large tract of land, but were allowed by the inhabitants to occupy immediately half of their village, with the corn growing adjacent to it, and, at the end of harvest, were to receive the whole. Thus were they at once comfortably established, without those severe hardships which usually attend an infant settlement.

This good understanding was prolonged for a number of years; but at length, in 1642, the emigrants had the usual misfortune of being involved in a war with the natives. For two years they suffered all its distressing and harassing accompaniments, which, in 1644, were happily terminated by a treaty, the conditions of which, and some acts of assembly immediately following, seem to prove that the evil had arisen entirely from the interested proceedings of individuals. The prohibition of

kidnapping the Indians, and of selling arms to them, show the existence of these culpable practices. This peace was of long duration, and the Maryland government seem on the whole, to have acted more laudably towards this race than any other, that of Penn excepted.

The domestic administration was first disturbed by the following painful transaction. Captain William Clayborne, a man of large property, and holding high offices in the colonial government, had opened a considerable trade in furs and other articles on the upper part of the Chesapeake, and even established a settlement on Kent Island, where he expended upwards of 6000*l*. The proprietary forthwith called upon him to yield up all these establishments, as lying within the range of his patent. Clayborne, very little disposed to consent, referred the claim to the council of Virginia, who expressed their astonishment that it should ever have been even mentioned. The demand certainly appears to have been one of extreme hardship. The captain some years before had received from the king a patent for trade, though not indeed for plantation; but this last object was attended with such expense, hazard, and difficulty, that not permission merely, but ample encouragement had always been considered due to the undertaker. That on Kent Island had been fully sanctioned by the local authorities, within whose recognised limits it then was, and the inhabitants had a right to send two burgesses to the assembly. Situated near the opposite coast of the Chesapeake, it did not materially interfere with the new plantation, and ages must have elapsed before the two could come into contact.

The influence of the proprietary, however, was powerful at home. The Virginians, though they obeyed the order to afford aid to the new colonists, presented a strong remonstrance on the severe discouragement and loss sustained by the severing of so fine a portion of their territory, which they had already partly occupied. By a sentence of the Star-chamber, however, of 5th July, 1633, the members present "did think fit to leave Lord

Baltimore to his patent, and the other parties to the course of law, according to their desire." They ordered, meanwhile, that, "*things standing as they do*," the planters on either side shall have free traffic and commerce each with the other,—and lastly, that "they shall sincerely entertain all good correspondence, and assist each other on all occasions, in such manner as becometh fellow-subjects and members of the same state." Notwithstanding this injunction, and another of the same tenor, expressly relating to the dispute with Clayborne, his lordship determined to proceed to immediate extremities. An act of attainder was passed against the other in the Maryland assembly; a hostile armament was fitted out; and the Longtail, a merchant vessel belonging to him, was captured, after a contest in which the captain and several of the crew were killed. This was followed by other encounters; and at length, by a midnight assault; the Isle of Kent was carried, and the principal planters either made prisoners or forced to seek safety in flight.

Clayborne, now repairing to England, laid his wrongs before the king, when Charles, in a letter to the proprietary, on the 14th July, 1638, expresses a strong and apparently a just indignation. He refers to a former order that Clayborne and his associates "should in no sort be interrupted in their trade or plantation by you, but rather be encouraged to proceed cheerfully in so good a work;" then adverting to the violences committed, commands them to cease, and that no further molestation be given to these persons or their agents, till the case should be decided.

On the 4th April, 1639, however, the Commissioners of Plantations pronounced their decision in a very different tone. They state that, by the admission of Clayborne, who was present, his patent, which had also been granted only under the great seal of Scotland, was exclusively for trade, not for settlement; that the island was admitted by him to be within the limits of Lord Baltimore's patent; and therefore that he had not the slightest claim to either. It concluded, "concerning the vio-

lences and wrongs by the said Clayborne and the rest complained of, they did now also declare, that they found no cause at all to relieve them, but do leave both sides therein to the ordinary course of justice."

By what agency so remarkable a change was effected does not fully appear. It is supposed, however, to be owing to the fact that in the great contest between the king and the parliament, which was now begun, Clayborne embraced with zeal the popular side.

The most prominent feature in the internal management of the colony was the proclamation, made of complete liberty of conscience, and worship to all sects, who acknowledged the fundamental truths of Christianity. We have seen that an assembly of the people or their deputies was in some shape required by the charter; and this could scarcely have been denied to the colonists, after having been sanctioned both in Virginia and New England. The proprietary, however, had secured the power of constituting this assembly in any manner he pleased, and, moreover, of making laws quite binding, without their concurrence. Besides these two clauses, he reserved also the right of originating statutes, only requiring the consent of the deputies. He accordingly prepared and sent over to Maryland a complete code, expecting, probably, under the peculiar circumstances, that its acceptance would have been a matter of course. But the Marylanders, who showed always a determined zeal for their franchises, threw it entirely overboard, and prepared another of their own, which they transmitted for his assent. In what spirit it was received is discoverable only from the fact that no part ever appeared in the records; so that it must have been wholly rejected, and probably with no little indignation. How any adjustment took place between views so widely discordant, cannot be distinctly traced; but the freemen appear to have made good their right of originating laws, subject to the proprietary's negative.

In 1638, an act introduced a new form of representative as-

sembly, instead of that hitherto formed by the freemen in general. Lord Baltimore, then availing himself of the unlimited power given in the charter, inserted a truly extraordinary clause, giving him power to summon his own friends by special writ, seemingly without any limitation of number, to sit and vote along with the burgesses. It is obvious that he had thus full means of swamping all opposition, and of dictating every measure of the assembly. The burgesses, accordingly, soon complained that they then had not even "a negative," to obtain which they demanded, that they should sit in one house, and the Baltimore nominees in another. But the proprietary put a decided negative on such a change. Under the assembly thus modelled, he was granted five per cent. on tobacco exported; and all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance to him.

In 1645, an insurrection was raised, when Calvert the governor, unable, it should seem, to make even a show of resistance, was obliged to flee into Virginia. In about a year and a half, the original rule was restored; though no detail is given of the means. An amnesty and other prudent measures restored tranquillity.

The burgesses, notwithstanding, continued to struggle for that division into two houses, by which only they could obtain any real legislative power. At last they attained their object, though at a time which took away almost all the grace of the boon. It was in the fatal year of 1649, when the republican party, completely triumphant, had brought Charles to the block, and the proprietary was using all his efforts to court or at least to sooth its leaders. In 1650, an act was ratified, sanctioning this new constitution.

Lord Baltimore began about this time not only to permit, but earnestly to invite protestant settlers from different parts of America. One object at least was to fill up the population of the colony, which was probably insufficient at the low rents exacted to repay the expenses of settlement. It now derived

small supplies from emigration, which, after the commencement of the great civil contest, ceased to flow into the western settlements. The assembly about this time passed an act for peopling the colony, and this course also tended to conciliate the now triumphant puritans at home. The New Englanders, however, to whom this invitation was first addressed, "felt no temptation that way;" but the Virginian reformers, compelled by the persecutions of Berkeley and the assembly, came in large bodies, till, according to the assertion, though probably exaggerated, of opposite parties, the Protestant population exceeded the Catholic. They occupied the territory north of the Patuxent, and formed a new county named Severn or Anne Arundel, reaching nearly to the modern site of Baltimore. Having thus invited them, he probably intended they should have full liberty of worship; and in 1649, an act of religious liberty was passed, which seems to display an impartial spirit. Unluckily, however, for the proprietary, these settlers brought with them the principles of political liberty, which usually accompanied their religious profession. They were prepared to own the proprietary as lord of the soil, and to pay him all his dues. But great was their surprise, when, after much expense in removal, and in cultivating their ground, which derived almost its whole value from their labour, an oath was presented to them, in default of signing which, they were to be ejected from their lands, and banished from the colony. On looking into it, they were astonished to find no mention either of their rights or duties as English subjects; but that they were to pledge their sole allegiance to Lord Baltimore and his successors, binding themselves "to the uttermost of their power to defend and maintain his right, title, interest, privileges, *royal* jurisdiction, prerogative, proprietary, and dominion." This appeared "far too high for him, and strangely unsuitable to the present liberty which God had given to English subjects." It even seemed quite inconsistent with the allegiance due, and which many of them had actually sworn, to the government at

home. They felt peculiarly reluctant to devote themselves so entirely to the support of rulers who, on their part, were bound to countenance and uphold antichrist. They drew up, however, a modified oath, not anywhere recorded; but it was one which Stone, the governor, who never showed any want of zeal for his master's interest, considered admissable, and agreed to receive. Nevertheless, when sent home, the proprietary indignantly returned it, ordering that the original one should be taken, and directing that those who within three months failed to comply, should immediately suffer the sentence of forfeiture and banishment. Stone, consulting his lordship's benefit by seeking to moderate his violence, did not choose to proceed to this extremity, and merely refused land to new comers on any other terms. The threat, however, was kept hanging over the heads of all, and placed the colony in a state of alarm and agitation, which ill prepared it for the crisis in which it was soon to be involved.

In the great contest between the king and the commons, it cannot be doubted that all the partialities of Lord Baltimore were on the royal side. It is even said, that when Charles was at Oxford, he obtained a commission to arm vessels and men against the insurgents. He felt, however, much disinclined to become a martyr in that monarch's cause; and as soon as his downfall appeared inevitable, began loudly to proclaim his attachment to the republicans. Greene, his governor, having hastily proclaimed Charles II., was removed, and his place supplied by Stone, a protestant, who was stated to be "always zealously affected to the parliament." His lordship boasted of the contrast of his government to that of Virginia, and the shelter afforded by him to the persecuted puritans of that colony. So fully did he impress these views on the public, that the king, from Breda, issued a commission, in which, branding him as "visibly adhering to the rebels, and admitting schismatics, sectaries, and other ill-affected persons into his plantation," he deposed him, and named Sir William Davenant his successor.

The latter, having collected a colony of Frenchmen, set sail for America, but was taken by a parliamentary vessel; and being condemned to death, he was saved only by the intercession of Milton, who was attached to him on account of his poetical talents. The commission, though it failed wholly as to its object, was industriously circulated by Lord Baltimore, and ostentatiously exhibited as a proof of his avowed attachment to the commonwealth.

All these particulars were brought carefully forward at the critical period when, as formerly mentioned, a commission was sent out to reduce Virginia under the new government. His lordship states, that after the name of Maryland had been inserted, the parliamentary leaders were, by his representations, induced to expunge it. But he adds, that "somehow or other" there was afterwards introduced "all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake."

The commission consisted of five members, two being Americans; and as by accident only one from England (Captain Curtis) reached his destination, they became the majority. Those two were Bennet and Clayborne, the deadliest foes of the house of Baltimore; and their influence was greatly increased, when the one was named governor of Virginia, and the other appointed his secretary. In the clause above mentioned they found full warrant to include Maryland; and seeing no ground for its exemption, they treated with derision the professed zeal of the colony and its ruler in the cause of liberty. They accordingly repaired thither, and began by calling upon Stone to expunge the king's name from the writs, and substitute the title then assumed by the parliament, of "Keepers of the Liberties of England." The governor replied, that the first demand was impossible, the writs never having been issued in any name but that of the proprietary, without whose authority he did not feel justified in making any alteration. The commissioners regarded this explanation as very unsatisfactory; and receiving many complaints, particularly as to the required

oath, and the ruin which impended over the protestant settlers for refusing it, they determined upon an entire change of government. The other did not directly oppose, but strongly remonstrated; and after a discussion of some months, a compromise was effected. Stone and one or two other leading men were replaced in power; but the subordinate officers, particularly the judges, were to continue as nominated by the commission.

Baltimore, considering himself highly aggrieved by these proceedings, presented a petition to the House of Commons, to which he had procured the signature of twenty Protestant proprietors; the Catholics being for the present kept in the background. He complained that two members of the commission, his avowed enemies, taking advantage of some ambiguous expressions, which were quite contrary to the intent of its framers, had subverted his government, without regard to his undoubted rights, and zealous attachment to the commonwealth. The house immediately appointed a committee of inquiry, who presenting the facts of the case, as they really were, the house appears to have seen no ground to disturb the arrangements made by the commissioners.

This appears in fact to be one of the happiest intervals in the troubled history of the colony. The proprietary, however, indignantly bore this limitation on his authority, and eagerly sought to regain his full prerogative. An opportunity seemed to occur when Cromwell, secure in the affections of the soldiery, dismissed the parliament, and centred the whole power of the state in his own person. His lordship now paid assiduous court to one not indifferent to the homage of men of rank, and eagerly solicited of him the desired boon. We suspect he obtained at least a promise that he should not be interfered with, though this is discredited by the opposite party, and the Protector did not withdraw any of the powers vested in the commissioners; but we will soon produce, on the part of this extraordinary person, such proofs of ignorance and carelessness in regard to



Oliver Cromwell.

these colonies, as to make it quite probable that he might issue very opposite mandates. Certain it is, that in the beginning of 1654, the proprietary sent to Stone strict directions forthwith to overthrow everything that had been set up by the commissioners; to displace every officer appointed by them; and to seize and try all, themselves not excepted, who should move in support of their system. The oath, in particular, was no longer to be trifled with; but all who should not take it within three months were to be rigorously ejected. The agent immediately proceeded to put those orders in execution, with, it is said, a violence and impetuosity which he had not formerly displayed.

The Protestants complained, and the deputies, who lent no unwilling ear to their complaints, sent orders to pay no regard to the authorities thus unwarrantably set up. Yet they seem not to have been in haste to interfere personally. Bennet, it is

alleged, had received a letter from Cromwell, urging him to preserve peace, and containing perhaps other equivocal expressions. They endeavoured by an amicable correspondence to induce Stone to desist. But when the three months elapsed without success, and matters were becoming always more urgent, they resolved no longer to delay. So confident indeed were they of support in the colony, that, in June, 1654, they set sail in an open boat, with only two rowers, and landed at Patuxent. Learning that Stone was determined to resist, and even if possible to seize their persons, they published a declaration virtually deposing him, by ordering that the government should be administered solely in the name of the Protector. Finding themselves soon at the head of a strong body of armed Protestants, they advanced upon the governor, who was using every effort to assemble an army of Romanists. They were mustered, however, with difficulty, and in small numbers, and, says Hammond, "they importunately advised him not to fight." With an inadequate body of men tendering such advice, and the dread of reinforcements from Virginia, he considered resistance quite hopeless. He declined any part in altering or modifying the government, but, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, simply resigned it into the hands of Bennet and Clayborne; who placing it under ten local commissioners, of whom the chief were Fuller and Preston, departed for Virginia.

The Protestants, thus completely triumphant, did not use their victory with the moderation which indeed was rather to be desired than expected. Bennet and Clayborne, in a platform of government, published 22d July, 1654, deprived the Roman Catholics of the elective franchise; and the next assembly, exclusively Protestant, passed an act that none who professed the popish religion could be protected in the province by the laws of England formerly established, and yet unrepealed; and the freedom of worship was not extended "to popery or prelacy, or to such as under the profession of Christ

practised licentiousness." While we must join in the general censure of this conduct, it ought not to be forgotten that in those days the toleration of popery scarcely existed, and would even have been considered criminal. Milton, an avowed and zealous advocate of religious freedom, did not extend it to them. The measure, was a most unhappy one in a colony founded, and still to so great an extent occupied by Romanists. We find, indeed, no mention of any actual expulsion, or even interruption of worship; but they were placed in a degraded condition, which they were not likely to brook. The arrangement was inconsistent with the peace of the settlers, and soon gave rise to the most violent conflict yet waged between Englishmen on this side of the Atlantic.

The Catholics, notwithstanding the favour shown to their religion, had displayed towards the proprietary government an apathy with which Hammond vehemently reproaches them. They had seen it three times subverted, without lifting an arm in its defence; but now they were driven as if it were by main force into its ranks. Stone, taunted by the proprietary with his former timidity, and warned that, without a greater display of energy, another would forthwith take his place, now summoned the Catholics, and all others attached to the Baltimore government, to rally round him. They obeyed with unwonted alacrity, and he soon saw himself at the head of a greater force than had ever before been mustered in Maryland. With the consciousness of strength seems to have grown an indifference to persuasive measures, and a disposition to carry all by main force. The first object was to possess the records then deposited at Patuxent. Hammond boasts, that proceeding thither in a boat with only three rowers, he ventured among these "sons of thunder," and carried off the deeds without opposition. The Catholic force soon possessed themselves of the whole district, and advanced upon the main hold of the adverse party at Providence, in Anne Arundel.

The Protestants appear to have been taken very much by

surprise, and without any of those precautions which a prudent foresight would have dictated. The deepest alarm is said to have been felt at the advance of this overwhelming force, coming, as was reported, with the determination to kill men, women, and children. Their letters, preserved by Heamans, do not breathe anything of a violent or imperious spirit. The commissioners, in their first address to Stone, declared that if he would make known his authority, he should not be opposed or disturbed in the least degree; that they had no wish to retain a power to which they felt themselves unequal, and were ready to submit to any government which God might place over them. They received, it is said, no answer, but what tended to make them desperate. According to Strong, the adverse leaders laid their hands on their swords, intimating that these gave authority sufficient, and would carry all before them. On the return of the messengers, the people assembled, and as the panic still prevailed, they were induced to make a very humble proposal. It was agreed that Stone should resume the government, on condition of ruling them as English subjects, of granting an amnesty for former acts, and a permission that any one who desired it might leave the country without injury to his property. As soon as this proposal was sent, they repented having gone so far; however, no result followed. The boat which conveyed the message met the expedition rapidly advancing, partly along the coast, partly in vessels by sea. The barge and crew were seized, and no notice was taken of the message; but two persons escaped and brought this intelligence.

The Protestants now formed a decisive resolution to conquer or die. As a large trader well armed was at that time lying in the Severn, Fuller delivered a summons to Heamans, the captain, and fastened another to the main-mast, calling upon him to defend the Protector's government; a mandate which he was nothing loath to obey. His crew also expressed an eager disposition "to make the Protestant cause their own." Stone, anxious to detach him, sent a letter, stating that he had en-

closed a petition with the Protector's order upon it; but there was no such enclosure; and though the messenger declared he had seen the document, this assurance was not considered a sufficient ground to act upon.

On the evening of the 24th March, the alarm was given, and the Catholic armament, with drums beating and colours flying, was seen entering the broad estuary of the Severn. The seamen eagerly asked permission to fire, but Heamans restrained them till he could hail the advancing foe, and endeavoured to persuade them to desist. As they paid no regard to him, he gave the word, and when the balls began to play, they retreated, exclaiming "round-headed rogues!" and ran into a creek, where they disembarked. Next morning, they were seen marching along the coast, two hundred and fifty strong, while the Protestants, only one hundred and seven in number, having chosen probably an advantageous position, determined to make their final stand. Heamans lent them a pair of colours, and though he did not leave his ship, afforded, doubtless, all the aid in his power. They profess, however, not to have attacked, but left still an opening for amicable adjustment; but the assailants having poured in a fire, which wounded several, the signal was given to close. The two parties rushed upon each other, with the cry on one side of "God is our strength;" on the other, "Hey for St. Mary." The contest was brisk, but short. Victory soon decided so completely in favour of the Protestants, that the whole opposite army, with the exception of five, were either killed or taken. Stone himself, with his principal officers, were among the captives. All the boats, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, who boast also of an extensive capture of beads, reliques, and other "trash in which they trusted."

The conquerors are accused of a cruel intention to put to death the governor, with some of the leading men, who were saved by the humane interposition of the females; but the authors on their side make no mention of such a design.

Heamans describes "the religious, humble, and holy rejoicing which followed," as the most interesting scene he had ever witnessed.

The Protestants were thus again triumphant; yet immediately there arose another alarm. About the same time that the proprietary despatched his last imperious mandate, Cromwell, who we suspect had sanctioned it, wrote to Bennet, strongly censuring him for having gone into Baltimore's plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing his government. He ordered him to forbear such interference, and leave the boundaries of the two colonies to be fixed by the decision of the authorities at home. Another mandate is quoted as having been sent to the governor and council, "not to meddle in the business that hath happened between the men of Severn and Lord Baltimore's officers; but to leave that affair to be settled by the *Commissioners of the Parliament*." It would be difficult to display grosser ignorance on any subject than is here manifested. He did not know that the commissioners and the rulers of Virginia were the same persons, but supposed that they interposed in the latter capacity, to extend the jurisdiction of that settlement, and that the chief dispute respected the boundaries between it and Maryland.

The Baltimore party, however, now published these documents, announcing to their antagonists, that they were rebels against one who would not suffer his power to be defied with impunity; and the colony remained some time in a state of extreme agitation. Pains, however, were now doubtless taken to explain to him the real state of the case. We suspect too that, amid the deep interest excited in England by the late contest, the public voice, especially among his own party, would declare itself perhaps with extreme force on the Protestant side. Heamans, even while implicitly referring the question to his decision, intimates a trust, that he "hath provided better governors for the people of God, than professed enemies of the truth, and that hunt after the innocent." We find him, next Septem-

ber, writing an angry letter, not owning his own ignorance, but telling the commissioners, "that they had mistaken his meaning, as if he would have had a stop put to their proceedings for settling the civil government, whereas he only intended to prevent any violence to be offered to Virginia, with regard to bounds; they being now under consideration."

The Protestant governors were thus relieved from present apprehension, but they had placed the colony in a false position, under which tranquillity could not be permanent. At this crisis a new character appeared on the scene. Josiah Fendall, who had actively supported Stone, now rallied round him the Catholic and proprietary interests. He thereby raised an insurrection, the events of which do not seem to have been remarkable, and are nowhere given in detail; but it was not put down without difficulty. Lord Baltimore was so much pleased with his exertions, that he sent to him a commission as governor; and thus armed, after some farther efforts, he obtained possession of the Catholic district of St. Mary, while the Protestants still ruled in their own territory. After some time he had the address to bring about, on the 24th March, 1658, an arrangement by which he and his master were acknowledged throughout the whole colony. Freedom of worship, equal privileges, relief from the obnoxious oath, and permission to retain arms, appear to have been the basis of this agreement, by which the jarring elements that had distracted the plantation were for some time happily composed. But the political wheel now rapidly revolving soon brought round another revolution.

In March, 1660, news arrived of the restoration of Charles II., when the assembly, recollecting probably the indignation of that prince against Lord Baltimore, his deposition, and the appointment of another governor, imagined that an opportunity was afforded for emancipating themselves altogether from his rule, and becoming free as a royal colony. They met and declared, that no power should be recognised in Maryland except their own and the king's. The council, with the authority by

which they had been nominated, were entirely set aside; though the place of governor was still tendered to Fendall, on condition of his holding it in the name of the assembly. Ambitious of retaining his station, and reckoning probably that he owed it rather to his own energy and popularity, than to the proprietary's favour, he accepted the offer.

These steps were premature and inconsiderate. Baltimore, who was a skilful courtier, soon persuaded Charles of what was doubtless the truth, that all his real partialities had been for the royal cause, and his republican profession made merely under the urgency of political circumstances. He therefore soon obtained the full restoration of his chartered privileges; and Philip Calvert, his brother, was sent out to assume the government. No attempt was made to resist him. All the services of Fendall were now cancelled; he was brought to trial and found guilty of high treason, but, instead of capital punishment, was merely fined, and declared incapable of ever holding office. Considering his influence with the people, it might perhaps have been wiser to treat leniently an offence committed under peculiar circumstances, than thus provoke the enmity of one who could render it formidable.

Thus began the second period of Lord Baltimore's government, respecting which we have only scattered and imperfect notices, whose tenor, as before, is very contradictory. According to one party, his rule was beyond example mild, tolerant, and beneficent, such as ought to have rendered Maryland an earthly paradise. On the other side, fresh charges are made of domineering tyranny and covert persecution. Nor is it denied that the people showed little sense of their alleged happiness; that much dissatisfaction existed; and that repeated attempts were made to shake off the yoke. The discontents are indicated by the severe laws against those who divulged false news or stirred up opposition to the governor, who were to be punished with whipping, boring the tongue, imprisonment, exile, and even death.

Lord Effingham, though a high partisan of authority, describes Maryland as threatening to fall to pieces, and imputes the blame to the proprietary. Heavy complaints were laid before the English government of the slender provision for Protestant worship, as well as of the partiality shown to Catholics in the distribution of offices; but the notices on the subject are so slight and partial, that it is difficult to form any positive judgment. The Quakers, so severely persecuted everywhere else, had gone thither in considerable numbers; but though not molested as to their worship, little indulgence was shown to their scruples in respect to military and other public services.

A considerable emigration, however, continued to take place, particularly of the labouring class, who, on coming under indentures for a term of years, had the expenses of their voyage defrayed. The more opulent classes, as in Virginia, found their incomes depressed by the low value of tobacco; but they rendered the evil less oppressive by bearing it more patiently, and making no foolish attempts to relieve it by renouncing or suspending the culture. The commercial monopoly, and the duties on their produce, also pressed hard on them; and upon these points the proprietary and the king were involved in a warm controversy.

The rebellion of Bacon, in Virginia, with the popish plot and other disturbances in England, encouraged the discontented party to aim at another change. The movement was in the Protestant interest; and Fendall, being its leader, may be suspected as not unwilling to seek power under any banners. Very few details are given; but it appears that he and his accomplice Coode were suddenly apprehended. He was fined 40,000 pounds of tobacco, imprisoned for non-payment, and banished from the colony. Lord Baltimore might have expected favour under the Catholic rule of James II.; but that monarch, preferring arbitrary power to every other consideration, and having determined to reduce the charters of all the colonies, ordered proceedings to be commenced against that of

Maryland, which were only arrested by his expulsion from the throne. This event, however, did not ultimately avail the proprietary. After the revolution, his officers were accused of delaying to proclaim William and Mary ; and the Protestants, inspired with new courage, rose in arms, overturned his government with the usual facility, and established a provisional one. In their defence, they published a statement, urging the often-repeated charges of civil tyranny and covert persecution.

William, who doubtless had an interest in favour of the insurgents, gave his entire sanction to their proceedings, and took the government into his own hands. After a short tenure by Andros, it was directed during six years by Nicholson, who, on the whole, gave satisfaction. The Protestants considered their wrongs as redressed, nor do we hear of any complaints from the opposite party. Under the successive administrations of Blackeston, Seymour, Corbet, and Hunt, the province continued tranquil and contented. In 1716, the inheritance having fallen to Charles, Lord Baltimore, who professed the Protestant religion, George I. was induced to restore his patent, which continued till the Revolution in the hands of the family. It was first ruled by B. Leonard Calvert, a relation of the proprietary, who was succeeded in 1732, by Samuel Ogle. The colony continuing to flourish, received a large accession of Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who, after settling in Pennsylvania, sold their possessions and removed to this more favourable climate.

CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.



IN the grand scheme concerted in 1606, for colonizing Virginia, as has been already observed, one company had been authorized to form establishments on the southern, another on the northern part of the extensive coast which bears that name. The first was undertaken by certain merchants in London, the other by capitalists in the western ports. The former, whose fortune we have already traced, undertook their task with more ample means, carried it on with greater perseverance, and, though amid many disasters, rose sooner into importance. The latter, however, was not destitute of powerful supporters, among whom were Sir John Popham, at that time Chief-Justice of England, and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, governor of Plymouth. In August, 1606, they had fitted out a vessel of fifty-five tons, with a crew of twenty-nine Englishmen and two savages. Captain Chalons, the commander, took the circuitous route of the West Indies, and having been involved, near the coast of Hispaniola, in thick fogs and tempestuous weather, found himself surrounded by eight vessels manned by Spaniards. They rushed on board with drawn swords, and made prisoners of the crew, who were distributed among the different ships and conveyed to Europe. The captain and pilot with some others were brought to Seville, thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost indignity. Robert Cooke, one of their number, having died, his body was dragged naked through the prison, amid cries of "behold the Lutheran;" and Humfries, the boatswain, was assassinated. Through the humane intercession, however,

of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, they obtained a mitigation of their sufferings, and at length they escaped to England.

Another party, sent out with supplies to Chalons, were much dismayed upon not finding any trace of him or his companions. They were pleased, however, with the aspect of the country, and brought home such a favourable report as incited the adventurers to fresh efforts. In 1607, they sent two ships with one hundred men, conducted by Captain Popham, a son of the chief-justice, and a brother of Sir John Gilbert. The crews, having landed near the mouth of the Kennebec, built a fort named St. George; but they found the winter intensely cold; a quantity of their stores was consumed by fire; and Popham, their principal leader, died. Next season, a vessel arrived with fresh supplies, but conveying tidings of the death of the chief-justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, which induced their president, who was his heir, to go to England and take possession of the estate. All these inauspicious circumstances so discouraged the settlers, that, like some of the more southern colonists, they determined in a body to return home, thus rendering all the exertions of the company completely abortive.

This unwelcome arrival proved it is said "a wonderful discouragement" to such undertakings, which there was long "no more speech" of renewing. Sir Francis Popham, however, who succeeded as governor, sent out vessels on his own account to fish and carry on the fur-trade. His adventure, being found profitable, was followed by others; and at least one crew wintered on the coast. A powerful impulse was given to colonization, when Smith, unable now to find employment in Virginia, directed all the powers of his intelligent mind into this new sphere. In 1614, he prevailed upon four merchants of London to furnish him with two traders, and also fifteen men to form a settlement. No mention is made of any connexion with the Plymouth Company, who, indeed, when they effected so little themselves, could not with a good grace have opposed the attempt. The whale-fishery, apparently the leading object,

failed; whence the plan of settlement seems to have been relinquished. By boat fishing, however, and by collecting martin, beaver, and otter skins, a value of 1500*l.* was realized, which was considered a very favourable return.

While the others, too, were thus employed, Smith contrived to make a survey of the coast, from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, and gave to the country the memorable name of New England, which it has ever since retained. This voyage, however, was followed by a most distressing event. Thomas Hunt, left in charge of one of the ships, inveigled on board thirty of the natives, whom he carried to Malaga, and sold as slaves. The consequence was, that Captain Hobson, who arrived a short time after, without any knowledge of the crime, was killed, with several of his crew; and much pains were necessary to assuage the resentment thus kindled.

Meantime, the arrival of Smith in this country produced so favourable an impression, that the Virginia and Plymouth Companies vied with each other in soliciting his services. The former offered four ships, which he declined in consequence of a previous engagement to their western rivals; a circumstance he afterwards found reason to repent, since, nothing being in readiness, he was involved in a labyrinth of trouble before he could procure two vessels, with only fifteen settlers. Upon going to sea, a violent storm, which broke his masts, obliged him to return. Being provided with a smaller vessel, he again set sail, but when in the vicinity of the Azores, he was captured by French pirates, who carried him to Rochelle, whence he contrived to escape. A great part of his property, however, was lost in this voyage.

The company did not altogether discontinue their exertions; and Captain Darmer, who sailed with Smith in 1615, reached the coast and made a good fishery. During the succeeding years, he and Rocraft displayed very considerable activity. Darmer made a voyage along the coast to Virginia, proving for the first time its continuity with New England; and meeting

some Dutchmen, who had opened a trade on the Hudson, he gave on the whole a highly favourable account of the country. An attempt was made to conciliate the natives by means of *Squanto*, called sometimes *Tisquantum*, one of Hunt's victims, who had found his way to Newfoundland, whence he was sent home by Mason, the governor. Much distress was, however, experienced, both from their enmity and from the violence and insubordination of the English sailors. Rocraft, after suppressing a violent mutiny, was killed in a conflict with one of his own people; while Darmer, severely wounded by a band of savages, was constrained to retire into Virginia, where he soon afterwards died. These disasters checked greatly the progress of the few scattered settlements.

Smith, meantime, after his return, strained every nerve to inspire his countrymen with colonizing zeal. He went from city to city, applied to various individuals who had shown an interest in the subject, and circulated at great expense seven thousand copies of books and maps. He complains, that he might as well have attempted to "cut rocks with oyster-shells." Besides this prevailing apathy, he was objected to as an unfortunate man; for all his undertakings had failed, and a contrast was drawn between the poor state of Virginia under him, and its present prosperous condition, when the planters were living in ease and luxury on the juice of tobacco. Though he could show that this arose from causes which he could not control, he found it difficult to shake the influence of fortune over men's minds.

At length the Plymouth Company began to make a movement; but it was altogether in a false direction. Their patent had hitherto been so limited, that they had not been able to prevent the rivalry of the London merchants, and even of the Virginia Association. They conceived, that if they could obtain the same exclusive privileges which had been lavished on the latter, they might be equally prosperous. By continued solicitation during two years, and by receiving into their num-

ber some influential individuals, they gained from James I., on the 3d November, 1620, a most ample charter for all the country between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, comprising about a million of square miles, and including New York and New England, with all the northern states of the Union. Within these vast limits they obtained the exclusive right, not only of settlement; but of trade and fishery. No stipulation indeed was even made for political privileges to the settlers; the whole region was to be under the absolute sway of the Duke of Lennox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, and other individuals, amounting in all to forty-two.

These exorbitant privileges were of very little avail to those by whom they had been so unfairly procured. They struck at the interests of a large body of merchants, who, having embarked in the fishery, were supported by the House of Commons, then fast rising into importance. Sir Edwin Sandys, a popular leader, brought in a bill to allow free fishing and the cutting of timber on all this coast, which, notwithstanding the opposition of Sir George Calvert and other members, was carried; and though James prevented it from passing into a law, this adverse vote rendered it very difficult to enforce such exorbitant claims. The fishing, indeed, seems to have increased in the face of the prohibition. The ships destined for it, which, in 1622, amounted to only thirty-five, rose next year to forty-five. In these adventures the produce was divided into three equal parts, between the owner, the victualler, the masters and seamen. These last received usually from 17*l.* to 20*l.* for the trip, being more than they could elsewhere earn of wages in twenty months. Almost the only use the company could make of their charter, was to assign large grants of land, which, though they turned to little account at the time, were afterwards eagerly contested. The deeds were drawn so loosely, sometimes making over the same spot to different persons, that disputes arose, sufficient, it is said, to have afforded employment to a little

colony of lawyers. In their absence, other processes, suited to a rude society, were resorted to, the nature of which was indicated by the very names of Bloody Point, Black and Blue Point, applied to different parts of the coast.

All the efforts both of government and of powerful companies to people this district had thus proved nearly abortive, when, from an unexpected quarter, a tide of population poured into it, which rendered New England the most prosperous of all the colonies on the American continent.

The Reformation, though it doubtless involved an extensive exercise of private judgment, was not accompanied by any express recognition of that right, or of any general principle of toleration. These were long wanting in England, where the change was introduced, not by the people, though conformable to their wishes, but by the most arbitrary of their monarchs, consulting chiefly his own passion and caprice. Substituting himself for the head of the Catholic Church, Henry VIII. exacted the same implicit submission. Elizabeth trod in his steps, equally despotic, and attached, if not to popery, as has sometimes been suspected, at least to a pompous ritual and powerful hierarchy. But the nation in general, considering the Romish religion as contrary to Scripture, and shocked by the bloody persecutions of Mary, and other sovereigns on the Continent, were disposed to go into the opposite extreme. From Geneva they imbibed the Calvinistic doctrine and discipline, with the strict manners usually combined with them. The queen, whose views were irreconcilably opposed to these innovations, claimed the right of putting them down by main force. The most severe laws were enacted under the sanction of Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate sincerely but bigotedly attached to the English Church. The high court of commission was established; several obstinate non-conformists were fined or imprisoned, and a few suffered death.

But under all these persecutions, the party continually increased, and even assumed a bolder character. The puritans,

while they sought to reform the church, had no wish to withdraw from her bosom ; but there sprung up a new sect named Brownists, who, denying the authority of her doctrine and discipline, sought for the first time to found an independent communion. Upon them all the vials of persecution were poured forth. Brown himself could boast that he had been shut up in thirty-two prisons, and several of his followers were put to death ; but his own firmness at length failed, and he accepted a living in that church which he had so strenuously opposed. Although much condemned by his more zealous adherents, his desertion broke for some time the union of the party.

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, there was formed in a northern county a congregation of Separatists, under two respectable clergymen, Robinson and Brewster. During a certain interval they escaped notice ; but James, who soon began to follow his predecessor's steps, took such measures as convinced them that it would be vain to attempt the exercise of their profession at home. In looking for an asylum, they fixed upon Holland, the first country where toleration was publicly sanctioned by law ; and thither they made their escape, amid much difficulty and hardship, their families being for some time detained behind them. Having reached that foreign land, they found the protection denied at home, and remained eleven years unmolested, and even respected. But they never became fully naturalized ; their original occupation of agriculture was more congenial to their taste than the mechanical arts, by which alone they could earn a subsistence among the Dutch. They turned their eyes, therefore, to a transatlantic region, where they would not merely enjoy toleration, but might form a society founded on their favourite plan of church-government.

Animated by these views, the exiles applied to the Virginia Company, then under the management of Sandys, Southampton, and other liberal members, who zealously espousing their cause, obtained, though not without difficulty, from King James a promise to wink at their heresy, provided they remained other-

wise tranquil. Smith, deeply interested in this transaction, tendered and even pressed his services; which would doubtless have been extremely valuable. His religious views, however, were materially different, and instead of the subordination which he required, he found in them a rooted determination "to be lords and kings of themselves." It was necessary, therefore, that they should "make trial of their own follies;" for which, he mentions with a mixture of regret and triumph, that "they payed soundly, and were beaten with their own rod." They also wanted capital adequate to the founding of a plantation. Several London merchants agreed to advance the necessary sums, to be repaid out of the proceeds of their industry; but the terms were very high, and till the liquidation of the debt, the produce of their labour was to be thrown into a common stock for the benefit of the creditors; hence their exertions were not stimulated by the salutary impulse of personal interest.

With the means thus procured, the emigrants purchased one vessel of sixty, and hired another of one hundred and eighty tons; the former of which sailed to Delfthaven to take on board the brethren. The two joined at Southampton, and thence proceeded on their great western voyage; but before they reached the Land's End, the master of the smaller one, declaring her to be too leaky to cross the Atlantic, put back to Dartmouth for repairs. After another trial, the captain again pronounced her unfit for the voyage, and made sail for Plymouth. These disasters and alarms, though involving the loss of much precious time, "winnowed their number of the cowardly and the lukewarm;" and they finally set sail in one vessel, on the 6th September, 1620, being in all one hundred and two persons, with the firm determination of braving every hardship. They had a tempestuous voyage, and though their destination was the mouth of the Hudson, they arrived on the 9th November, in view of a great promontory, which proved to be Cape Cod. The captain, it has been alleged, had received a bribe from the Dutch to avoid a place where they projected a settlement. Of this,



Landing of the Pilgrims.

however, the adventurers being ignorant, were comforted by the view of a goodly land wooded to the water's edge. Whales so abounded, that had the crew possessed means and instruments, which, to their great regret, were wanting, they might have procured 4000*l.* worth of oil. They sailed on toward their destination, but being driven back by contrary winds, determined to go ashore. Previously, however, they sought to obviate the danger of discord by a mutual agreement, in the name of God, to combine into a body politic; framing and duly observing laws for the general good.

They landed on the 11th; but being informed that more commodious spots might be found to the northwest, in the interior of the great Bay of Massachusetts, they determined that a select party should proceed in the shallop in search of them.

The boat, however, was in such disrepair that it could not sail till the end of two or three weeks: sixteen of them, therefore, resolved to make an excursion into the interior. They met no natives, but found on a hill, half-buried in the ground, several baskets filled with ears of corn, part of which they carried away, meaning to satisfy the owners on the first opportunity, which unluckily never occurred. They saw many geese and ducks, but were unable to reach them; and being exposed to severe cold, hastily returned. Soon after they started for the same spot, named Cornhill, in the neighbourhood of which they collected ten bushels of grain, esteemed a providential supply. They lighted upon a village without inhabitants; but the houses were neatly constructed of young saplings bent at top, as in an arbour, and covered without and within with fine mats. Eagles' claws, deer's feet, and harts' horns, were stuck into them as charms and ornaments. They then regained their boat and sailed round to the ship. Some of their number urged that they should remain at least during the winter in this creek, where corn and fish could be procured, while many were disabled by sickness for further removal. The majority, however, observed that water was scarce, and the anchorage for ships too distant; that they had every chance of finding a better situation, and to fix here and then remove would be doubling their labour.

On the 6th December, therefore, the shallop being at length ready, a chosen party set sail. After proceeding six or seven leagues, they reached a bay forming a good harbour, but without a stream falling into it. Seeing some Indian wigwams, they followed, but could not reach the people, and found only a large burying-place. They returned to sleep at the landing-place, but at midnight were wakened by "a great hideous cry," which they flattered themselves proceeded only from wolves or foxes. Next morning, just after prayers, the sound was heard with redoubled violence, and was most dreadful. A straggler rushed in, crying, "they are men,—Indians." Though the party ran

to their arms, before they could be mustered, the arrows were flying thick among them. A brisk fire checked the assailants; but the chief, shooting from a tree, stood three discharges, till at the fourth he screamed out and ran, followed by his men. They were reckoned at thirty or forty, and numerous arrows were picked up; but providentially not one Englishman was hurt.

They sailed fifteen leagues further, and on the 9th reached a harbour that had been strongly recommended. The weather was dark and stormy, and the entrance encumbered with rocks; yet they fortunately run in on a fine sandy beach. This being Saturday, they did not land till Monday the 11th, when they were highly pleased, finding a commodious harbour, a land well wooded, vines, cherries, and berries, lately planted, and a hill cleared for corn. There was no navigable stream, but several brooks of fresh water fell into the sea. They advanced seven or eight miles into the country without seeing any Indians.

They now finally fixed upon this spot, to which, on the 19th, the vessel was brought round; and they named it New Plymouth, to commemorate hospitalities received at home. The erection of houses, however, was a hard task, amid severe weather, short days, and very frequent storms. By distributing the unmarried among the several families, they reduced the buildings wanted to nineteen, and by the 10th January, had completed one, twenty feet square, for public meetings. The exposure, however, and wading through the water in such inclement weather, brought on severe illnesses, to which Carver, a governor highly esteemed, and many others, fell victims. But on the 3d March, a south wind sprung up; the weather became mild; the birds sung in the woods most pleasantly; the invalids quickly recovered; and many of them lived to a good old age.

In the autumn of 1621, the merchants sent out another vessel with thirty-five settlers; but, misled by "prodigal reports

of plenty" sent home by certain colonists, they supplied no provisions; nay, the crew required to be provided with a portion for their return voyage. The consequence was, that in the course of the winter the colonists were reduced to a half-allowance of corn daily, then to five kernels a-piece; lastly, to entire want. Equally destitute of live-stock, they depended wholly on wild animals. Till May, 1622, fowls abounded; but there remained then merely fish, which they had not nets to catch; and it was only by feeding on the shell species, collected among the rocks, that they were preserved from absolute starvation.

The emigrants had seen the natives only in the short hostile encounter, but afterwards learned that a severe pestilence had thinned their numbers. The crime of Hunt, also, had filled the country with horror and dread of the strangers. To their surprise, on the 16th March, 1621, a savage almost naked, in the most confident manner, walked through the village, and addressed those he met in broken English. They crowded round him, and on their eager inquiry, learned that his name was Samoset; that he belonged to the Wampanoags, a somewhat distant tribe; and that their immediate neighbours were the people of Massassoit and the Nausites, the latter of whom had been the assailants in the late conflict. They treated him liberally with strong waters and food, presented him with a greatcoat, knife, and ornaments, and begged him to return with some of his countrymen. After a brief absence, he reappeared with "five proper men," presenting the usual grotesque attire and ferocious aspect. They all heartily danced and sung. A few days later he brought Squanto, whose restoration to his native country, as we have already narrated, had rendered him extremely friendly to our name. Being ready to act as interpreter and mediator, he opened a communication with Massassoit; and on the 22d March, that great sagamore, with Quadequina his brother, and sixty men, was announced as in the vicinity. Difficulties were felt as to the meeting, from want of mutual confidence; however, Squanto having brought an invi-



Treaty with Massasoit.

tation to parley, Edward Winslow went with presents, and was kindly received. The governor, then, after obtaining some Indians as hostages, marched out at the head of six musketeers, kissed hands with the great chief, and presented a bottle of strong waters, of which he drank somewhat copiously. A treaty was concluded, both of abstinence from mutual injury, and protection against others; and it was long faithfully observed.

Two of the settlers now accepted an invitation to visit his residence. After a laborious journey of fifteen miles through

trackless woods, they were received with great courtesy, but found a total deficiency of victuals, of which it seems the king's absence had prevented any supply. At night they were honoured by sharing the royal couch, which consisted of a large board, covered with a thin mat. At the other end lay his majesty and the queen; and they had soon the additional company of two chiefs, who, with a large colony of fleas and other insects, and the uncouth songs with which their bed-fellows lulled themselves to rest, rendered their slumbers very brief. Next day, two large bream were spread on the table; but "forty expected a share." Though strongly urged, they declined to partake any longer of these hospitalities.

In February, 1622, the settlers had completely enclosed their town, forming four bulwarks and three gates. They were some time after alarmed by hearing that Massassoit, now at the point of death, was likely to be succeeded by his son Coubantant, whose disposition was far from friendly. Edward Winslow hastened to the spot, and found the magicians busy at their incantations, and six or eight women chafing him amidst hideous yells. The chief, already blind, cried out; "Oh, Winslow, I shall never see thee again!" That gentleman, however, by suitable medicines, gave present relief, and in a few days effected a cure. Even the heir-apparent, being promised similar aid in case of need, became greatly reconciled to them.

Meantime, Weston, one of the London adventurers, had sent out a settlement consisting of sixty individuals to a place which they named Weymouth; but they behaved so ill to the Indians, that the latter entered into a general confederacy to cut off all the English. This was revealed by Massassoit, to his friends at Plymouth, who succeeded in saving both themselves and their rivals, though the latter were obliged to relinquish their establishment, some returning home, and others joining the first colony.

This last made such progress that, though reduced, in the spring of 1621, to fifty or sixty persons, in 1624, it amounted

to a hundred and eighty. The merchants, however, complained most loudly, that they had laid out a large capital without receiving or having any prospect of the slightest return. After much discussion, it was determined that the colonists should now supply themselves with everything, and for past services should, during nine years, pay 200*l.* annually. Eight adventurers, on receiving a monopoly of the trade for six years, undertook to meet this engagement ; so that the settlers were now established in the full property of their lands. In six years more their number had risen to three hundred.

The Plymouth Company, meantime, continued their abortive efforts to derive some benefit from their vast domains ; being particularly solicitous to stop the active trade and fishery carried on in defiance of them. Francis West was appointed admiral, and Robert Gorges, lieutenant-general of New England, with strict injunctions to restrain interlopers ; but in an ocean and continent almost equally wide and waste, they could effect little. The most important grant was to Robert, son of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who, obtaining a large portion of what is now called New Hampshire, employed Captain Mason, a person of great activity, to colonize it ; and hence were built Dover and Portsmouth on the Piscataqua. These, however, made only a slow progress ; nor was it till the death of their founders, that, being left nearly to themselves, they drew gradual accessions both from home and the adjoining colony. The crews, also, who sought timber and fish on the coast of Maine, began to form fixed stations on the Penobscot and Kennebec.

The emigration, however, which was to render New England a flourishing colony, was again derived from the suspicion and dread which always attend religious persecution. It seems to have abated towards the end of James's reign, Abbot, the primate, being a man of mild temper, and averse to violent measures. In 1625, Charles I. succeeded, a young prince of virtuous dispositions, but of an obstinate and despotic temper, at-

tached with a conscientious but blind zeal to the English church, and probably imbibing from his queen Henrietta some favour for popish ceremonies. He threw himself into the arms of Laud, bishop of London, a zealot in the same cause, and they entered together on a career oppressive to the nation, and ultimately fatal to themselves.

Laud proceeded with the utmost severity, not only against the doctrine of the puritans, but against any particular display of it, such as preaching on week-days, enforcing a rigid observance of the Sabbath, rebuking for drunkenness or other open sin. These steps were sufficient, according to circumstances, to produce censure, suspension, and deprivation. All the popular ministers in the kingdom were thus either silenced or under immediate peril of this sentence; and hence a great part of the nation was deprived of any ministration which they considered profitable or edifying. Yet loyalty was still powerful, and they were not ripe for that terrible resistance, to which they were afterwards impelled. Their only refuge seemed to be in some distant region, whither the power of Laud could not reach, and where they might enjoy a form of worship which they esteemed pure and scriptural.

In 1625, Roger Conant, with some mercantile aid, but chiefly inspired by religious zeal, had established a body of settlers near Cape Ann; their sufferings, however, were so severe, that they determined to return to England. White, however, an eminent minister of Dorchester, entreated him to remain, promising that he should receive a patent, friends, goods, provisions, and everything he could desire. This zealous clergyman held communication with many persons in his own neighbourhood, in London, and other quarters, particularly Lincolnshire; who, with zeal for religious purity, united energy of character, and in many cases considerable property. They found no difficulty in purchasing from the Plymouth Company an extensive tract, including all the coast between the rivers Charles and Merrimac, and across to the Pacific Ocean. They

even obtained, though not without cost and trouble, a charter from Charles, under the title of "The Company of the Massachusetts Bay." On the delicate topic of religion, the governor was impowered, but not required, to administer the oath of supremacy; and there was no other mention of the subject.

On the 1st May, 1629, six vessels, having on board about two hundred passengers, including four clergymen, sailed from the Isle of Wight. Smith would evidently have been glad to co-operate; but difference of religious views seems again to have prevented negotiation. He describes them "an absolute crew, only of the elect, holding all but such as themselves as reprobate;" and before sailing, all those persons were dismissed whose character was thought to make them unsuitable companions. The seamen were surprised and edified by the new scene which their ships presented,—prayer and exposition of the word two or three times a day; the Sabbath entirely spent in preaching and catechising; repeated and solemn fasts for the success of the voyage. They arrived on the 24th June, and found only eight or ten hovels, which, with others scattered along the coast, contained about one hundred settlers. A site, already marked out, had its name changed from Nahumkeik to Salem; while a large party removed to Mishaum, which they called Charleston.

The colonists suffered severely during the winter under the usual evils of a new settlement, especially in so rigorous a climate. No fewer than eighty died; yet the spirits of the rest continued unbroken, and they transmitted by no means unfavourable reports to England. An extraordinary movement had in the mean time taken place among those to whom their religious welfare was an object of paramount interest; and their promptitude to remove was greatly increased by an arrangement, according to which the meetings of the company might be held in New England. The colonists thus carried the charter along with them, and were entirely released from all dependence upon Great Britain. A body of emigrants was formed, much supe-

rior to their predecessors in numbers, wealth, education, and intelligence. The principal lay members were, Winthrop, Dudley, and Johnson; the two first of whom were successively governors, while the other was accompanied by his wife, Lady Arabella, a daughter of the house of Lincoln.

The party thus assembled from various quarters was ready to sail early in the spring of 1630. The expedition consisted of seventeen vessels, and nearly fifteen hundred settlers, who were respectable as well for their intelligence as for their rank in society. They had, however, received a false impression, that they were going to a land already in the enjoyment of plenty; whereas the existing settlers were looking anxiously to them for supplies. Want of food and shelter, and a change in the habits of life, which with many of them had been those of ease and comfort, produced the usual distressing consequences; and in the first month from eighty to one hundred died, among whom Lady Arabella and her husband were particularly lamented. The hopes of religion, the firmness of the leaders, and the high motives by which they were inspired, carried them through this period of heavy trial. They spread themselves over the coast,—a large proportion going to Charleston. Part of these were attracted by a situation at the very head of the bay, named by the Indians Shawmut, where they founded a town called first Trimountain, and afterwards Boston, under which name it has become famous.

Emigration during the next two years considerably diminished, probably owing to the reports being less favourable. In the course of that time, however, the industry of the colonists greatly improved their situation. Winthrop even laments that the high wages of labour, amounting to 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, led to idleness and dissipation. These accounts were transmitted to England, where the puritan spirit was gaining new strength, while Charles and Laud were using additional efforts to suppress it; hence the emigration of 1633 became highly important, including several distinguished clergymen. The chief



Settlement of Boston.

of these was Mr. Cotton of Boston, in Lincolnshire, the most esteemed of all the puritan ministers. He was accompanied by Hooker and Stone, to obtain the benefit of whose ministrations many were induced to attach themselves to the expedition.

In 1634, a fleet of twenty sail carried out numerous colonists, among whom was Sir Henry Vane, who became afterwards one of the most distinguished characters of the age. As population increased, the range of settlement was extended; and, in 1636, a detachment proceeded to the Connecticut river to occupy a station for some time projected. In 1637, a large squadron was in preparation, when the court took the alarm. The nation seemed about to be drained of its people, and England as it were to be moving across the Atlantic. The well-known and unwelcome cause rendered it only wonderful that so

much indulgence had hitherto been shown. A proclamation was now issued against "the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects to America," and the lord treasurer was directed to stay the vessels now in the Thames, and cause the passengers and goods to be landed. The discontent at this measure was extreme; loud complaints were made by the puritans that they were neither allowed to live in nor to depart out of the kingdom. By special permission, in fact, or even without it, most of them reached the coast of New England.

But the insurrection, which was afterwards excited by the attempt to impose the liturgy on Scotland, the enforced calling of a parliament, and the memorable train of consequent changes, made persecution cease, and removed all disposition to leave England. Emigration was thus for a long time almost entirely suspended; yet not till the foundations of a great and powerful colony had been laid. In the course of ten years, there had arrived about twenty-one thousand emigrants in one hundred and ninety-eight ships, and carrying with them property, estimated, we imagine much too low, at 200,000*l*.

The people, thus established on the shores of New England, were of a peculiar, and in many respects valuable character. They regarded their religious welfare as the object in life to which every other ought to be considered secondary. Their desire was, that the Scriptures should be the basis on which the whole frame-work of their society should rest. The maintenance of their rigid principles, in the face of a brow-beating opposition, induced a somewhat stern temper, not quite in unison with the mild spirit of the gospel. But their anxiety to regulate their life by its pure precepts, the fixed and persevering character which these high motives gave to their exertions, were peculiarly valuable in a situation where there was so much both to be done and to be suffered.

In pursuance of these principles, the right of citizenship was confined to church members. To this privilege the candidate was admitted by the minister and lay elders, who required not

only a suitable profession, but such a disclosure of his experience as might enable them to judge of his spiritual state.

The emigrants had belonged to the church of England, in which, under certain conditions, they had been willing to remain. But when left to their own uncontrolled decision, they not only rejected all the obnoxious ceremonies, but constituted every congregation, with the ministers and elders of its own election, independent of all other ecclesiastical power. They formed, however, a platform of doctrine and discipline, to which all were required to conform. This was carried so far, that a party, who insisted upon still maintaining the rites of their original church, were obliged to return to England. A new code of laws was established, rather upon scriptural precedents than upon civil statute. Offences against property were dealt with more mildly than till very lately in any European country; the guilty person being only sentenced to make ample restitution, or, in extreme cases, to be sold into slavery. But blasphemy, reviling of religion and worship, contemptuous profanation of the Lord's day, and, finally, the breach of the marriage vow, were declared capital. No severity could prevent the extensive prevalence of such disorders; yet such was the awe over the public mind, that the discovery was usually made by the offender confessing and surrendering himself to justice.

In regard to political liberty, the colonists equally went beyond what was intended or expected. By the original charter, the whole power, legislative and executive, was vested in a governor, deputy-governor, and thirteen assistants, to be chosen by the members or freemen, not of the colony, but of the company. These, at least four times a year, were to meet and decide on important concerns. To the first emigrants the court graciously allowed the choice of two assistants; in other respects, they had not a vestige of political privilege. This arbitrary government was, by the simple transference of the sittings of the company to America, converted into an almost pure de-

mocracy. Its freemen were then held to be the entire body of the settlers, limited only by the spiritual qualification; they elected all the executive officers, and exercised the supreme power. As their assembly in a body, however, was inconvenient, a meeting of two deputies from each township was arranged to assist in the processes of legislation. Thus New England was formed at once into a representative republic.

These transactions tended seriously to displease many leading men in England. A petition was presented from Gorges, Mason, and some refugees, complaining of arbitrary and violent proceedings, tending to the dishonour of the country, and the ultimate ruin of the settlement.

These representations were too well suited to the temper of the ruling party not to produce an effect. In 1634, an inquiry was raised as to the system of colonial church discipline; and the letters patent of the company were required to be produced. A commission, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at its head, was invested with full authority to regulate the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of New England. In this exigency, the settlers opposed a passive resistance, in which they were supported by their clergy; without directly refusing to comply, they took no notice of having received the mandates; but, in case matters should come to extremity, they subscribed a considerable sum to fortify the town of Boston.

Meantime, restraints were placed upon emigration; none above the rank of serving-men were allowed to remove without special leave; and these were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. These measures were followed up in 1635 by a *quo warranto*, entered against the company in the Court of King's Bench. Judgment was pronounced accordingly; but before the proceedings were closed, Mason, the most active instigator of them, died. This produced a temporary suspension, and the unabated rigour towards the non-conformists caused large emigrations. These, in the spring of 1637, roused with peculiar force the jealousy of the court, and, as formerly

mentioned, an order was sent to stay them. At the same time, the proceedings instituted for subverting the patent were revived, and a demand was sent out, that it should be returned, with a threat, in case of refusal, that the king would assume the whole administration into his own hands. The leading men of the colony drew up a very spirited remonstrance, representing the extreme hardship of this proceeding, and even cautiously intimating a danger of popular resistance. This, probably, would have little availed them, had not Charles, at the time of its arrival, found himself involved in the disastrous contest, arising out of his attempts upon Scotland, which, so far as he was personally concerned, brought matters to a fatal termination.

But the diversion hereby produced did not procure for the colony the repose which was so desirable. The religious feeling which ought to have inspired a spirit of peace, became, through an unfortunate combination of circumstances, a fertile source of discord. Among the Protestants, two classes might be distinctly traced, who soon became bitterly opposed to each other. The one having, as they conceived, thrown off the errors of popery, and established a new system of doctrine and worship founded on the Scriptures, sought to re-establish on this new basis that spiritual unity which appeared to them most desirable.

This party not only strongly condemned farther innovation, but employed compulsory and sometimes violent measures against it. The other class, on the contrary, insisted that the Reformation was only begun, and should be a continued and progressive movement. They sought, not a gradual change, but a new one as mighty as that already produced; one by which, in short, everything that was now sacred might become profane. This object was sought not by study, inquiry, or the learned interpretation of holy writ, all which were condemned or despised. Their place was supplied by inward and sensible revelations and prophetic ecstasies. These, coming direct from on

high, were represented as not only rendering all human learning utterly superfluous, but even the sacred volume itself of secondary value. Yet it is remarkable that this class first originated and zealously supported the great principle of religious liberty.

The first of these classes, when they saw their churches half-deserted from the multitude thronging after strange teachers, resolved to suppress the movement of their opponents. They, therefore, passed a law making it a capital offence for any one to attempt to seduce others. In fact, however, banishment was usually awarded, less as a punishment than as a means of delivering the society from them; and it was only when they resisted it, that other penalties, sometimes of extreme severity, were successively inflicted.

The first great schism which rent the colony was raised by Roger Williams, a young divine, who went out in the year 1631, and soon becoming highly popular, was chosen minister of Salem. Considerable learning, an ardent eloquence, and a temper peculiarly amiable, or, as Winslow expresses it, "a lovely carriage," rendered him a general favourite. For some time he was equally beloved by clergy and people; but he soon began to adopt peculiar notions, which he gradually extended, till at last he withdrew from the communion of all the churches both in England and America, denouncing them as quite unscriptural.

The ministers and rulers of the colony are described as cherishing a strong personal attachment to Williams, and feeling much grief, when every arrival from Salem brought accounts of some new flight he had taken. He began by proclaiming that King James had publicly told a solemn lie when he named the English as the first discoverers of the coast. Although this was considered a speaking evil of dignities, yet being only a speculative and somewhat doubtful question, it was passed over. He then proclaimed that the English had no right whatever to the lands occupied; but this opinion, too,

founded on equitable principles, was, on proper explanation, at least excused. He denounced and even raised a tumult on the subject of the red cross in the banner; this also was compromised. But when he proclaimed all the churches in the colony as antichristian, and excommunicated such of his parishioners as held any intercourse with them, the ire of the ministers and rulers was kindled. They seem, indeed, to have had sufficient ground to provide another pastor for the people of Salem, from whom all spiritual ministrations were now withheld.

Not, however, content with this step, they forthwith convened a general court, and by no very large majority passed a sentence of banishment. Apprehensions were entertained, arising from the attachment of the people of Salem to him; but on the subject being represented to them, they acquiesced without a dissentient voice. As the rigour of winter had set in, they determined at first so far to mitigate his doom as to allow him to remain till spring. Information being received, however, that he continued actively, and with considerable success to disseminate his opinions, the somewhat harsh resolution was formed of immediately shipping him for his native land. This might have appeared a milder exile than into the unexplored wilds of America; but he seems to have formed the ambition of founding a transatlantic colony, modelled entirely according to his own peculiar ideas. Accordingly, on learning that a warrant had been issued against him, he set out with a few followers, to seek shelter in the vast wilderness. His sufferings, in the extremity of winter, without bed, bread, or any shelter but in the hollow of a tree, may be easily imagined. He describes himself as "plucked up by the roots, beset with losses, distractions, miseries, hardships of sea and land, debts and wants." The ministers still kept up a kindly correspondence, to which he answered, expressing his esteem, and bitterly acknowledging "their sympathy with one so afflicted and persecuted by themselves;" yet wonders why he, whom they named "beloved in Jesus," should be forbidden to breathe the same air, and inhabit



Banishment of Roger Williams.

the common earth. His first shelter was from the Indian sachems Massassoit and Canonicus, whom he had conciliated by respect for their rights and by kindly behaviour. "The ravens," he says, "fed him in the wilderness." He attempted first a settlement at Seekonk, but finding it to be within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, crossed over to the fine territory of Rhode Island, where he encountered no prior European titles. Here, having proclaimed a general religious liberty and established a mild rule, he rendered his colony a refuge for all the partisans of the movement; and as these, soon afterwards, became extremely numerous, the population rapidly increased, till Rhode Island acquired an important place among the states of New England.

The Massachusetts rulers, however, had scarcely eradicated from their land the seeds of this heresy, when they were assailed by a more formidable one from a very unexpected quarter. The colonists, having made so many sacrifices for the sake of religion, devoted to it an almost exclusive attention, which might require to be supported by some novelty. The men, involved in many occupations and difficulties, had less leisure to ponder the subject; but of the female emigrants, many, raised by their situation above toil, devoted their whole minds to this study. They soon became convinced of their capacity to treat with success its most abstruse dogmas, and to discover errors in the most learned ministers. A privilege had been granted to hearers, at the end of the sermon, to ask questions, "wisely and sparingly;" and this they used for the purpose of putting searching interrogatories, calculated to expose the errors of the preacher and the superior wisdom of the inquirer. The ministers, annoyed by these conferences, determined altogether to exclude from them the female part of their congregations; but these zealous theologians, naturally dissatisfied with such treatment, resolved not to cease their discussions. Mrs. Hutchinson, a Lincolnshire lady of good birth and great energy of character, held every Sabbath evening a numerous meeting, where these topics were discussed at full length; and the conclusion was attained that the teachers and congregations of the colony were alike in total darkness, and must undergo a radical change before they could hope for divine favour.

The doctrines embraced with such ardent zeal were those termed antinomian, into the details of which we shall not at present enter. According to them, salvation depended wholly upon unconditional election, which, being made known to its object by a supernatural assurance, rendered reformation of heart and conduct wholly superfluous, even as a test of his spiritual state. It is not, indeed, alleged that this doctrine led its female advocates, at least, to indulge profligate and immoral habits. The clergy, however, though their tenets were de-

cidedly Calvinistic, strenuously inculcated reformation of manners as the test of a sound spiritual state, and viewed with alarm the doctrine of their opponents, as tending to make an entire separation between faith and practice. The doctrine of the first was distinguished as a *Covenant of Faith*, while their opponents were said to be under a *Covenant of Works*.

Although this heresy was as yet only partial, it was easy to foresee, from the class among whom it arose, that the diffusion would be rapid. The clergy, hitherto regarded with such profound respect, soon learned that they were denounced in the female coterie as the blind leaders of the blind, and that the majority of the people of Boston were completely alienated. Many who had crossed three thousand miles of ocean, and braved death itself, to sit under their ministry, would not now listen to a word which they uttered. Their churches, if not deserted, were at least greatly thinned; while that of Mr. Wheelwright, brother-in-law to Mrs. Hutchinson, and a zealous advocate of her views, could not contain the crowds that thronged for admission.

The older ministers themselves were somewhat divided. Of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton, the two most distinguished and influential, the former inveighed against the new tenets with extreme violence, while the latter treated them with indulgence, and was even regarded as one of their votaries. Mrs. Hutchinson had gone out to enjoy his ministry, and a close intimacy prevailed between them. Henry Vane, too, a youth of splendid talents, heir to a princely fortune, and son to Charles I.'s chief secretary, having embraced with zeal puritan principles, utterly opposed to those of his father, was induced to prefer the society of Massachusetts to that of England. He took up his residence with Mr. Cotton. The colonists gave him the most ardent welcome, exulting in the preference shown by such a man to their rising settlement; while the objection derived from his youth was removed by his gravity and deep theological learning. At the next annual election of governor, he was raised to



Sir Henry Vane the younger.

that station, at the early age of twenty-four. He was a decided partisan of the movement or independent party, of which in England he became the head, next to Cromwell, and with much greater consistency. The rise of the antinomian tenets disturbed his government. Whether he actually embraced them cannot be fully ascertained; but he continued intimate with their supporters, and being an advocate of religious freedom, effectually checked any measures for their suppression. The old party, therefore, considered his removal essential to their object, and on the next election brought forward Mr. Winthrop. A struggle of extraordinary violence took place; and the antinomians, in their effort to obtain "gospel magistrates," were supported by a large majority in Boston. But the country districts adhered to their old ministers; and they formed the



Governor Winthrop.

greater number. Lest they should be seduced or intimidated by the citizens, it was carried, though not without difficulty, that the election should be made at Cambridge. It went decidedly in favour of Winthrop; and Vane soon after returned to England. He was subsequently murdered with judicial forms by Charles II. after his restoration. “The people of England were so outraged at the injustice of Vane’s trial and condemnation, as to occasion serious alarm to the court party, who were fain to make their peace by restoring to his family the titles and estates, which they have ever since enjoyed. The late head of the family, the Duke of Cleveland, was true to the principles of his illustrious ancestor; and although elevated to the rank of the highest aristocracy, was an earnest advocate for popular rights.”*

* Pictorial History of the United States.

The party again established in power lost no time in taking measures to suppress the reigning schism. Accordingly, a general synod was called to meet at Cambridge. This was a new step, each congregation having hitherto acted almost as a separate body; and it kindled an extraordinary interest. By way of preparation, a solemn fast was appointed, by which it was hoped men's minds might be brought into a suitably calm and deliberate frame; yet it only rendered them more embittered.

On the 30th of August, 1637, the synod met, consisting of the preachers, deputies from the congregations, and the magistrates; while the people, in as great numbers as the place could contain, were admitted as hearers. The accused parties were allowed a place, and the liberty of speech, which they are said to have used beyond all proper limits. The debates were stormy, and there are on both sides allegations, seemingly not unfounded, of clamour and violence. During three weeks, the subject was discussed, but the issue was a unanimous sentence of condemnation.

Having achieved this public triumph, the members fondly hoped that they had gained their object, and that the heretical party would no longer rear its head; and hence they were not a little discomposed to find all things proceeding exactly as before. Mrs. Hutchinson's private meeting and Mr. Wheelwright's chapel were frequented by equal crowds, while Mr. Wilson, who once enjoyed extreme popularity, no sooner entered a pulpit than half the congregation rose and went out. All legitimate means of subduing the opposite party having thus proved vain, the unjust resolution was formed to employ the civil arm in its suppression. Proceedings had already been instituted against Mr. Wheelwright, but had been delayed till the effect of the synodical decision was tried. On its proving fruitless, he was again called upon to acknowledge his offence, and engage not to repeat it; but he refused to make the slightest concession, maintaining that he had simply declared the truth, and if there

was anything in it that bore hard upon the ministers, the application was of their own making. Hereupon he was ordered to depart from the colony within a fortnight. A number of persons were then summoned, who, on occasion of the last proceedings against him, had signed a remonstrance declaring their concurrence with everything he had said, and warning the court "to beware how they meddled with the prophets of God." Two of this body were banished, two fined and disfranchised, and several deprived of their places under government.

All these were only preliminaries to the attack on the main hold of antinomianism in the person of Mrs. Hutchinson. Having been found guilty of heresy, she was ordered to leave the colony within six months. She retired with a number of her followers to Rhode Island, where Williams gave her a cordial reception. Her husband was for some time governor of that colony, after whose death she purchased the small island of Aquiday, where she was unhappily surprised, and with her whole family murdered by a band of Indians. This event had no real connexion with her banishment, not happening till six years after; yet it caused a strong sensation, heightening the sympathies of some, while by others it was regarded as a judgment.

Some years subsequently, after a good deal of negotiation, an important arrangement was made. A union or rather confederacy was formed by the four colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut, with the view of protecting themselves against the Dutch and French colonists, and more especially against the Indians. The executive body consisted of two commissioners from each colony, whose only qualification was church membership. They had no right to interfere in the internal jurisdiction of any of the states; they could only provide for the general defence, declare war, order levies of troops, and conclude peace. They had even no power to enforce their decrees; they could merely intimate

them to the confederated bodies, with whom it rested to carry them into execution. As the league could consist only of orthodox churches, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine were excluded. Williams, considering his situation to be thereby rendered precarious, made two visits to England, and, through the influence of Vane, obtained a full charter for his little colony.

Massachusetts was about this time agitated by a contest between the democratic party and the magistrates, who were alleged, notwithstanding the forms of election, to engross almost the whole administration. The former, who for a time gained a majority, exercised their power with little discretion. Riots were excited, and an impeachment was advanced against Winthrop the governor, now become the object of general esteem. A reaction was thus produced. That gentleman was triumphantly acquitted, and continued to be re-elected annually during his life; and though some concessions were granted to the radical party, the general tenor of government went on nearly as before.

In 1643, the parliament appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief and lord-high-admiral of the colonies, aided by a council of five peers and twelve commoners.

The colony was soon again involved in danger by an event which strikingly displays the character of the times. One Gorton, who had arrived from England, caused such disturbances that he was banished, and sought the usual refuge of Rhode Island, where he developed his religious system, which appears wild in the extreme. He is said to have held that the great characters of the New Testament had reappeared, and were acting in Massachusetts,—the most wicked of them being identified with its magistrates and ministers; while his votaries viewed himself as an incarnation of the divine founder of Christianity. The sacraments and ordinances were scouted with the most profane derision. Williams complained that “he was bewitching and bemadding poor Providence,” that “all sucked

in his poison." At length a compromise was made, that Gorton should form a separate settlement in a district procured by treaty from the Indians. The chief of that nation, however, complained that it had been a most violent seizure, his hand having been grasped and forcibly applied to the document. He appealed to the magistrates of Massachusetts, who readily took up the complaint. They appointed a commission to mediate on the occasion, who wrote a letter to Gorton, asserted to have been very moderate. He returned an answer full of vituperation and fury, as well as insolence towards the magistrates.

The magistrates were not men tamely to endure such contumely, alleging that they were entitled to deal with him either as a refractory subject or a foreign enemy. They sent the commission attended by forty armed men to bring him a prisoner. As they approached, Gorton's confidence in supernatural aid began to waver, and he proposed a reference to Williams; but this appeared a quarter not sufficiently friendly, nor were they now disposed to stop. He and his adherents sought to defend themselves in a large fortified house; but on the first attack the greater number fled; the rest, himself included, were taken and conveyed to Boston. The court proceeded to the violent step of condemning him to death; but the deputies merely ordained that he and his followers should labour in chains in different districts. It being found that under this martyrdom they both excited sympathy and gained converts, they were soon set at liberty, when Gorton repaired to England.

The rulers of New England were thus for a long period exempt from any troubles except those springing from the succession of new sects, and their own pertinacious attempts to suppress them. It was no doubt a severe trial to the ministers, who appear really to have been, as they describe themselves, "faithful, watchful, and painful, serving their flocks daily with prayers and tears, with their most studied sermons and writings," to see ignorant, half-crazed enthusiasts enjoy the whole popular favour and render their churches almost empty. The

next whom they had to encounter were the Anabaptists, a German sect who, after passing into England, had crossed the Atlantic. Obadiah Holmes first formed a small congregation in the Plymouth territory, which rapidly spread, and seems generally to have absorbed the former classes of the movement. A sister of Mrs. Hutchinson embraced it, and made a convert of Williams, who, at an advanced age, was baptized anew. Its rise at Boston was at first obscurely indicated by the retirement of numbers from church before the rite was administered, who repaired to private meetings and secret re-baptism. The rulers had recourse to fines and even whipping; and, finding that these were endured with courage and constancy, they proceeded to inflict banishment. The leaders having been thus driven into the general receptacle at Rhode Island, the others sunk at least into a state of silence.

But the tranquillity thereby obtained was of short duration; and it was followed by a schism which much more strongly agitated the colony, and involved it in deeper reproach. There had arisen a sect, who, from certain irregular bodily movements, received the derisive name of Quakers. They seem to have proceeded to the utmost extremes, rejecting all human learning as well as ordinances, and placing their whole dependence on the direct agency of the Spirit. Williams, as we have seen, regarded this as the only source of religious instruction; but, believing it be withheld, he placed the world in a state of entire spiritual darkness. This was completely remedied under the Quaker system; in which every word and every action were understood to be guided by supernatural impulses.

The New England rulers, having heard of their proceedings with horror, and knowing the inflammable character of their own congregations, prepared to meet them with the most rigorous exclusion, and certainly without regard either to the forms or substance of law. In July, 1656, when Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived from Barbadoes, an officer was instantly sent on board, who conveyed them to prison, and seized all

their books and papers, some of which were burned by the common executioner. They were denied pen, ink, paper, and candle, and a window which opened to the street was boarded up. After some weeks' confinement, the captain who brought them was obliged to take them away at his own expense, and give bond in 100*l.* to land them in Europe.

The rulers, having held the two prophetesses in such rigorous seclusion, hoped that all danger of contamination was prevented; but they were soon somewhat disconcerted upon receiving a remonstrance, tenderly entreating them to beware, lest they should be found fighting against God. The writer, who proved an old church member, was immediately fined and banished. England, however, sent out a continued succession, who found in Rhode Island a secure point upon which they could retreat, and whence they could advance. But the fine, the lash, imprisonment, and finally death, awaited many of them. It ought, however, to be kept in mind that the magistrates merely intended to inflict banishment, which, in their actual circumstances, amounted only to exclusion. The former sectaries had submitted to this sentence, and the district had been cleared of them; but not so the Quakers, who had no sooner been thrust out than they reappeared, proclaiming their doctrines with the same loud and enthusiastic zeal. The extreme punishments, therefore, were inflicted, not on account of their opinions, but for returning from banishment. A few were executed for thus returning.

These proceedings raised a general clamour, and many persons transmitted to England representations against them. Charles II., who did not want humanity, wrote to Endicott, the governor, ordering that all capital punishments on this ground should be stopped, and the accused sent home to be tried. The colonists, though not recognising the king's power to issue such mandates, did not choose to disobey. They contrived, however, to inflict minor penalties and indignities, throwing the enthusiasts into prison, and whipping them out of the district. A

fresh appeal made to Charles upon these subjects did not meet with any regard; but the representations of eminent ministers of their own persuasion, as well as the death of Wilson and Endicott, who were succeeded by men breathing a more reasonable spirit, gradually induced a corresponding treatment. Quakerism, as already hinted, may be considered the extreme limit of the ultra-protestant movement. No other sect passed beyond it; on the contrary, the spirit of the age gradually turned itself to the exercise of reason, and the employment of learning upon religious subjects, even to the verge of indifference. The Quakers and Baptists themselves assumed a more sober character, renounced their extravagant pretensions, and, retaining a tempered zeal, became useful citizens and active philanthropists.

The people of Massachusetts had now a hard contest to maintain for their political existence. Having been forgotten during the civil wars, having evaded the claims of supremacy made by the Long Parliament, having received favour from Cromwell, they had acted almost completely as an independent republic. They were exceedingly anxious to continue so, and hence by no means shared the national joy at the Restoration. All their sympathies were on the other side. Whalley and Goffe, obliged to flee from England as accessory to the death of Charles I., were kindly received; and even after it was no longer possible to shelter them, their escape into the back settlements was favoured. The unwelcome intelligence was met, as long as possible, with an obstinate incredulity. When, at length, doubt could be no longer pretended, they drew up an address to the king; which was graciously received. Yet Leverett, their agent, warned them, that they were in very bad odour with those royalist statesmen in whom the whole power was now vested, and that serious innovations might be dreaded. To avert these evils, they sent over Bradstreet (afterwards governor) and Norton, now the most eminent of the ministers. The envoys were received courteously, and on their departure

obtained an answer, by which the king confirmed their charter, and granted pardon for political offences to all who were not actually attainted. He demanded, in return, the repeal of all laws derogatory to his prerogative; in particular, that worship should be allowed according to the use of the Church of England, and that freeholders otherwise qualified should not be excluded for their religious opinions. These demands, though moderate, and in some respects laudable, were extremely unwelcome, especially the last of them. Above all, they involved that right of internal interference which they were most anxious to resist; but they had still the consolation that the executive being in their hands, they could proceed at leisure. The king was proclaimed in full pomp; his name was inserted in the writs; other things for the present remained as before.

The court and ministry of England, with Clarendon at their head, were disposed to treat the colony well, but by no means to exempt them from the obligations of subjects. Complaints, meanwhile, poured in from Episcopalians, Quakers, and Anabaptists, as also from Gorges and Mason, respecting New Hampshire.

Commissioners, therefore, being sent out to direct an expedition against New York, were instructed also to hear and determine complaints in causes military, civil, and criminal, within New England, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace of the country. This intelligence was received nearly as if it had been that of a foreign invasion. A fast was proclaimed; the patent was placed in trusty hands; and every possible precaution was taken to prevent troops from landing. When the expedition arrived, the general court was not sitting, on which ground the council evaded giving any immediate answer; and as the squadron soon sailed for New York, a respite was obtained.

That assembly being called without delay, took into serious consideration the present state of affairs. Soon after the restoration they had prepared a declaration, claiming under the char-

ter the appointment of the governor and subordinate officers, and indeed the whole executive and legislative powers. Their allegiance was said to consist in upholding that colony as of right belonging to his majesty, and in "preserving his person and dominions." They now determined "to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." Ready, however, to testify their loyalty in any righteous way, they made active preparations to levy two hundred men, for the New York expedition, though, from its speedy success, their services were not wanted. The court, nevertheless, drew up a petition to the king, claiming the right of self-government as a royal donation under the great seal, "the greatest security that may be had in human affairs." They represented the commission as involving a demand "to yield up our liberties, which are far dearer to us than our lives." They concluded: "Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, Let the king live for ever." They endeavoured also to interest powerful individuals in England; but their best friends there seem to have been unprepared for so lofty a flight. Clarendon wrote, expressing wonder that they should thus violently complain of commissioners without having a single act to charge against them. Secretary Morrice, in the king's name, disclaimed any intention of interfering with their charter, but justified the commission as the only mode of examining into the numerous complaints.

Still the colonial court, resolved not to yield, deterred the inhabitants by every possible means from any appeal to the commissioners. The latter, having soon succeeded in their first object at New York, proceeded to the more difficult task in Massachusetts. They began by demanding that the people of Boston should be assembled to hear the royal commission read; a motion which was entirely overruled by the local authorities. These last made a courteous statement, showing instances in

which they had complied with the king's letter of 1662, and others in which they were willing to do so. The commissioners expressed their hope that these professions would now be borne out by "practical assertions of duty;" but whenever they attempted to exercise any of their functions, the strongest objections were started, till at length the general court was called upon directly to say whether or not they acknowledged the royal commission. This question was evaded, with such a reference to their charter as evidently showed how they really felt. The others then determined to bring matters to the test, by fixing a day to hear a complaint made to them against the colony. At this crisis the court took a very daring step. On the appointed morning, a herald by sound of a trumpet proclaimed that no one at his peril should pay any regard to a summons pronounced to be unlawful. Upon this the envoys declared, that they had nothing more to do with men who, having openly defied the king's authority, could expect only the punishment of rebels.

It might have been apprehended that Charles would take some strong step to vindicate his power, thus daringly opposed. Yet, whether from good-nature or reluctance to a contest with men who showed such strong determination, he recalled the commissioners, and merely required the colony to send deputies to defend their cause in Britain. After full deliberation, they thought it wisest to make the best excuses they could for non-compliance. They gave, however, all possible aid in the contest with France, sending a supply of masts for the royal navy, and of provisions for the West Indies. His majesty, distracted by foreign wars, internal factions, and his voluptuous pursuits, felt little inclined to enter into a struggle with the hardy sons of Massachusetts; and during the greater part of his reign they remained unmolested. They contrived even to evade the severe navigation law of 1663, by which all the important branches of colonial commerce were required to pass through the mother country. They did not indeed openly repel the act, but having its execution in their own hands, they enforced it in

such a manner as best suited their interests. The harbour of Boston was crowded with vessels from almost every part of Europe and America; and the colony now enjoyed a rapid career of prosperity.

The English cabinet, however, looked on them with an evil eye, and after Charles had formed a close alliance with France, crushed popular factions, and filled his councils with staunch adherents of absolute power, a decisive change of measures was contemplated. The long-contested claims of Mason to New Hampshire and of Gorges to Maine, were brought before the judges and decided against Massachusetts. They contrived indeed, for 1250*l.*, to purchase Maine from the representatives of Gorges; but the other country was finally severed from their jurisdiction. In 1684, a *quo warranto* was issued against Massachusetts, and sentence given against the colonists, cancelling their charter.

The colony do not seem to have contemplated any resistance, but awaited in gloomy silence the absolute governor who was to be imposed upon them. They were struck with horror by the announcement of Kirke, afterwards noted for his bloody career in the Monmouth rebellion. They were delivered from him, and had a short breathing-time in consequence of the death of Charles II. Amid the occupations of a new reign, no step was taken till 1686, when the government was conferred on Dudley. He arrived in May, the general court was immediately dissolved, and the administration vested in him as president, and a council named by the crown. His rule was mild, and affairs, on the whole, went on nearly as before. James, however, learned that there was still too much of the old leaven, and formed the design of uniting all the colonies under one government. Sir Edmund Andros arrived in December, 1686, with two companies of troops, instructed to put an end to all popular power, but otherwise to rule with equity. The whole aspect of the colony was then changed. Instead of the sober and pious manners observed by the rulers, a gay, licentious, and

profane conduct became at least no bar to the highest offices. An Episcopal chapel was opened, and attended by the governor and his officers ; assessments were no longer allowed for churches or schools. Toleration, extended to all sects, was an important improvement ; yet such was the hostility shown to the reigning one, that an alarm arose lest it should be excluded. The taxes being found insufficient for the increased expenditure, James gave orders that they should be raised to its level. But this "ill mode of raising money without assembly" excited a passive resistance, met by confiscations and fines, which, as they enriched the hungry adherents of the government, soon became the favourite penalty. In vain they appealed to English laws ; they were told not to expect these to follow them to the end of the world ; when they spoke of their township rights, they were reminded that there was no such thing as a town, and that all their local jurisdictions were swept away. Soon the enormous pretension was advanced that the lands, having all been granted under the patent, were forfeited along with it, and reverted to the king. This went to "make all men's titles null and void," and in fact to place nearly the whole colonial property under confiscation. The settlers being called on for their titles, stated first the original charter to Adam and Noah, supported by actual possession ; this was derided. They then produced deeds of purchase from the Indians, to which the marks of chiefs were affixed. They were desired not to mention these brutes ; they might as well show "the scratches of a bear's paw." They then urged, with much reason, the heavy expense and labour by which they had "conquered the wilderness," and given to it almost its whole value, and the hardship that a body of strangers should come and inherit everything. A large tract which the town of Lynn had purchased from the Indians and enclosed as a common, was solicited by Randolph, and all their pleas treated with contempt. A plot of ground, purchased at Boston, being similarly grasped at, the proprietors, in attempting to resist, were asked if they would "stand suit with

the king," being warned "they might thus lose all they had and something else too." We suspect there was more of bluster than of actual spoliation; for in none of the cases is it stated that Andros proceeded to the extremity of seizing property. Money being the object, it was intimated that new patents would be granted on paying the fees, which however amounted to about a fourth of the value. Some were intimidated into this step; but it was reckoned that there were not funds in the colony to have thus repurchased the whole. In this extremity, Increase Mather, escaping by night and in disguise, reached England, and laid the grievances of the colony before James. All petitions for a representative government were peremptorily rejected; but there appears a minute of council, that the colonists should hold their lands according to their ancient records. But James was now on the eve of his fate. Having disgusted all parties by his rash and tyrannical conduct, he could not withstand the invasion of William, and was obliged to abdicate the throne, and leave room for the revolution which has secured British liberty. As soon as this intelligence reached Massachusetts, the people rose in arms with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people. Sir Edmund Andros and his adherents were imprisoned; the charter was again put in force; a governor, assistant, and deputies were elected. On receiving a letter from William, desiring them to continue the government in his name, till he should send more particular direction, the two sovereigns were proclaimed at Boston on the 29th of May, 1689.

The king, whose liberality was rather of position than of character, by no means fully answered their expectations. Treby and Sommers, the great Whig lawyers, reported that the decision against the charter had been valid; and hence the conduct of Andros and his officers legal. William was so far from punishing that governor, that he received him into favour, and appointed him to Virginia. It was even understood that he suspected the loyalty of Massachusetts; and doubts were spread

whether he would renew the charter at all. It required, in fact, three years' solicitation by the agents and friends of the colony, generously aided by the queen, before they could obtain one, which, in point of fact, materially abridged their former independence. The king assumed the nomination of the governor, the judges, and the military officers, as well as a veto within three years on their acts, and a negative on the council named by them. Though by no means fully satisfied, they thought it best, under all the circumstances of the case, to make no complaint. In truth, they had obtained privileges still more ample than those of any other British subjects.

Having brought the affairs of the colonists to this satisfactory point, we must look back to some transactions which have been reserved for the purpose of giving a connected narrative; the most important being their relations with the Indian tribes. These were not so satisfactory as the character of the settlers might have led us to hope, especially as compared with the Quakers in Pennsylvania.

Almost from the first establishment of Connecticut, mutual wrongs had created an animosity between the settlers and the Pequods, the most powerful of all the tribes, who sought, by an alliance with their enemies, the Narragansetts, to form a general league against them. This scheme had nearly succeeded, when it was frustrated by the generous exertions of Williams. The English at first were taken by surprise, had several small detachments cut off, and were so closely hemmed in, that they could not go to their work or even to church without a strong escort. Captains Mason and Underhill, however, having come up with seventy men, determined to attack their main fort, surrounded by a palisade of strong trees, but so loosely put together that musketry could penetrate it. The assailants having forced an entrance, set fire to the camp, which was soon reduced to ashes, and above three hundred Indians, men, women, and children, perished in the ruins. The English, whose loss was trifling, pursued the remnant of the tribe from



Destruction of the Pequods.

place to place, till the whole were either killed or taken prisoners. Forty who had sought refuge among the Mohawks, were given up by these savages, and the few others who remained alive surrendered in despair.

After the terror inspired by this dreadful overthrow, tranquillity continued nearly forty years. The Massachusetts government maintained friendly relations with the Indians, allowing them, even when unconverted, to settle within its jurisdiction. A number of them, as will be afterwards observed, were converted to Christianity. A disposition arose to imitate the English, and even to assume their names; those of Philip, Stonewall John, and Sagamore Sam, were borne by powerful chiefs.

As the colonists multiplied, and the circle of settlement ex-

tended, the natives could not but feel for how paltry a price they had sold their once spacious birthright. The enlarged frontier afforded new occasions of dispute ; and the Indians, when wronged, instead of appealing to the general court, took vengeance with their own hands. A member of one of the tribes, having given information against certain of his countrymen, fell a victim to their resentment ; but the murderers were condemned to death by a jury, of whom half were Indians. In revenge, a small party of English were surprised and slain ; and immediately war broke out along the whole border.

The Indians were now much more formidable than in the first contest. During the long interval they had eagerly sought to procure the superior arms wielded by Europeans ; and commercial avidity had supplied them. They had attained no discipline, and could not contend in the open field ; but the English soon learned to dread an enemy whose habitations, says Mather, “ were the dark places of the earth ;” who, at moments the most unexpected, rushing from the depth of forests, surrounded and overwhelmed them. The war began with the burning of frontier villages, and the slaughter of detached parties. Beers, one of the bravest captains, was surprised and killed, with twenty of his followers. Then came a more “ black and fatal day.” Lothrop commanded with reputation a body of fine young men, the flower of the county of Essex, who, having piled their arms on wagons, were securely reposing and plucking grapes when the alarm was given. After a desperate resistance, they were cut off, only a mere handful escaping. This was followed by the “ Springfield misery.” That village, the most important on the boundary, was broken into, and every building reduced to ashes, except a large one, which, being slightly fortified, supplied a refuge to the inhabitants. Others soon shared the same fate, in circumstances still more tragical. After killing the men, they carried away the women and children ; and, though the honour of the former was not threatened, they were treated with dreadful cruelty. For example,

they were compelled to follow rapid marches, which at this time were frequent, and when found unequal to the effort, were killed at once by blows on the head.

In the midst of winter, one thousand men marched against the main hold of the Narragansetts. They rushed to the onset ; and after a dreadful conflict it was carried, and reduced to ashes,—the Indians perishing in vast numbers. But the colonists, appalled by their own loss of three hundred killed and wounded, including their six bravest leaders, retreated in great confusion : the enemy, however, were overwhelmed by their disaster, which they never fully recovered. In spring, indeed, they resumed their wonted warfare, but with diminished means and spirit ; and in May, another of their principal settlements was destroyed. Driven from their cultivated spots, and finding shelter only in woods and marshes, they suffered increasing hardships and privations. Discontent and disunion were the consequence ; several of the tribes began to make their submission, when pardon was granted. Two hundred laid down their arms at Plymouth ; and Sagamore John came in with one hundred and eighty, bringing also Matoonas, accused as the author of this dreadful war. In the course of it, had been formed skilful officers, particularly Captain Church, who displayed singular talents in this desultory contest. In August, he came up with Philip himself, who was completely routed, and fled almost alone. Hunted from place to place, he was traced to the centre of a morass, where he was betrayed and shot by one of his own people. The spirit of the Indians then entirely sunk ; and all who survived either emigrated to a distance, or submitted without reserve to the English power.

There was, however, a wider and ruder frontier, behind New Hampshire and Maine, where the settlers carried on a fur-trade with the natives, who complained of fraud and other wrongs, which do not appear imaginary. Though thereby impelled to deeds of violence, they waged no general war, till roused by the example of Massachusetts, when the flame spread along a

line of three hundred miles. The colonists, located in a number of small detached stations, suffered severely, and though they gained important advantages, were glad, through Mugg, a ferocious leader, to conclude a treaty granting to them payment of rent, or rather of tribute. A long peace followed, during which those plantations continued greatly to prosper; but in 1687, the Indians, instigated by the French, recommenced hostilities still more violently than ever. Andros, who endeavoured to conciliate this fierce race, treating the prisoners kindly and dismissing them without ransom, was censured by the colonists, who accused him, seemingly without any reason, of supplying them with arms. Failing in his pacific views, he took the field in the depth of winter, but, unable to find the enemy, merely erected two forts to cover the frontier. The war, however, continued to rage ten years, and the natives, being aided and in some degree disciplined by the French, gained many advantages. The bravest action was at Wells, where Captain Conyers, with fifteen men, repulsed with great slaughter an attack made by five hundred Indians. Sir William Phipps erected in the heart of their country the strong fort of Penmaquid; and some other triumphs being gained over them, led to a peace in 1693, on satisfactory terms.

Our attention is now drawn to a more pleasing subject. The European nations in general had professed a zeal to communicate the light of the gospel to the darkened minds of the natives. The Roman Catholics certainly made considerable exertions, with at least an appearance of success; but they were too easily satisfied with a mere profession and the rite of baptism. The New England ministers applied to this task with a deep sense of its importance, and a desire to produce an effective change. In 1646, the general court passed an act recommending missionary labours, which was zealously responded to by Mr. Elliot, who justly obtained the title of the Indian apostle, as well as by Mr. Mayhew, and other zealous individuals. A serious difficulty was found in the language,



Elliot preaching to the Indians.

which was full of uncouth sounds, and words of such an enormous length, that, according to Mather, they appeared to have been growing ever since Babel, and sometimes required from twenty to thirty of our letters to express them. This obstacle was overcome; and the natives were found to listen with interest to sermons, which, being judiciously made short, were followed by the much-prized privilege of asking questions. Some indeed of those put were irrelevant, and even puzzling,—as, why the English should know so much more of divine things than themselves; how their God should understand prayers in the Indian language; why river water was fresh and that of the sea salt; and why the ocean did not rise and overflow the earth. Answers were returned carefully adapted to their conceptions; and a considerable body of converts was gradually formed. They were collected by their affectionate pastors into little townships,

where being taught to build more commodious houses, and practise some useful arts, they were soon better lodged and accommodated than their most powerful sachems. They were persuaded to enact penalties, not only against violence and heinous sins, but against their usual rude and uncouth habits. Fines were imposed for killing noisome insects between the teeth, for besmearing the body with grease, and for indulging in their usual wild and frightful howlings. Women were no longer to go about with their hair hanging loose, and bosom uncovered, while in return they were protected from the tyrannical treatment too often inflicted on them; every man who beat his wife had his hands tied behind his back, and suffered an arbitrary punishment. In 1674, it was found that fourteen villages had been thus formed, estimated to contain about eleven hundred converts. These indeed were chiefly confined to districts in the vicinity of Boston.

The missionaries were not long in perceiving that powerful obstacles opposed their progress, rendering it difficult even to preserve the ground they had gained. The natives were under the spiritual sway of certain personages named *powaws*, who not only instilled rude religious notions, but cured their diseases, taught them the lucky modes and times of doing things, and were their resource in every emergency. By these august personages the most dire anathema was pronounced on those who obeyed the priests and gods of a foreign people. Not only would all their service and aid be withheld, but sickness, suffering, and even death might be dreaded from their magical influence. It is true, the cures effected by the English after the *powaws* had howled, leaped, danced, and blown upon the patients in vain, lowered materially the power of their savage divinities. Still, they did not doubt of their existence, and were scarcely undeceived by their new teachers, who themselves believed that the native priests derived from an unhallowed source some supernatural powers. It was considered, therefore, unhandsome and un-Indian to change the gods of their fathers, even for a mightier

deity. They incurred all the penalties of loss of caste; being thrown out from among their countrymen and associates, their lives threatened, and sometimes even forfeited. The sachems, who possessed no small influence, considered their authority as identified with that of the powaws, and viewed the change in worship and manners as a species of rebellion. The ministers too, in avoiding the lax modes of Romish conversion, went perhaps to the opposite extreme, admitting to communion those only who were judged fully to understand and be under the influence of true religion; so that of the whole number of professing Indians, not one hundred enjoyed full church privileges. It being difficult to procure qualified preachers among the settlers, the great object was to form an Indian ministry, with which view Dartmouth college, on a small scale, was founded. The savage pupils applied themselves at first with zeal and success; indeed, Hiacomés, a young native chief, had made himself eminent as a teacher, and procured many converts. A great proportion, however, soon tired, and being attracted by their friends and their old roving habits, betook themselves again to the woods. Even these limited prospects were much darkened by the long war, which, as already observed, was to a great extent, an anti-christian conflict; the chiefs, and particularly Phillip, being imbued with the most imbibtered enmity against the European religion. They viewed with peculiar enmity their converted countrymen, and eagerly strove to root out their settlements. So fatal was the consequence, that in 1684, the number of churches was reduced to four; yet so active was the zeal of Elliot, then upwards of eighty, that in three years they were as numerous as ever.

When Massachusetts had overcome some of its greatest evils, and seemed approaching to a tranquil state, she was again disturbed by the belief in, and the persecution of, witches. Before this unhappy delusion was cleared away, nineteen persons suffered death; eight more were under sentence; and one hundred and fifty were in prison. At this period the eyes of the people were opened, and they saw their delusion.

Massachusetts, from this time to the peace of 1763, enjoyed, like the other colonies, a course of prosperity, chequered only by some internal agitations. She took a very active part in the military operations of successive wars waged against the French colonies and their Indian allies. As these, however, were in a great degree common to all the states, we shall reserve them, with other general subjects, for a special chapter.

Lord Bellamont, who went out as governor in 1699, was extremely popular; and it was to the great regret of the people, that after fourteen months he was transferred to New York. They were little pleased at his being succeeded by Dudley, a man of talent, and a native of the state, where he had many friends; but the body of the people remembered that he had advised the resignation of the charter, and subsequently acted as the first absolute ruler under the king. During the whole twelve years of his administration, perpetual contests on petty subjects were waged between the two parties, and he rendered himself doubly odious by the expression of a wish that the colony were again utterly disfranchised.

On the accession of the house of Hanover, the settlers hoped for a more decidedly whig system; and, in fact, after some manœuvring, they obtained for governor Colonel Shute, who was at first very acceptable. But they were soon amazed to learn that a bill had been brought in for the entire abrogation of their charter, and it was only by very strong remonstrances that ministers were induced to withdraw it. Shute, too, though of mild manners, became attached to the high prerogative party, and advanced various claims scarcely warranted by the constitution, particularly that of negating the choice of the speaker of assembly. After many dissensions, the affair was referred to the government at home, by whom all his pretensions were sanctioned, and the local authorities were obliged to consent to an explanatory charter, embracing the views of the governor, and other regulations not less offensive. Hence it was in vain, that he pressed for a fixed and liberal salary to himself; they

gratified their resentment by diminishing it, without regard to the depreciation of the currency.

In 1727, he was succeeded by Burnet, a very accomplished person, and who, at New York, had made himself extremely acceptable. Under him, however, the question of income came to a crisis. The assembly, much mortified by having, under the charter of William, been deprived of the choice of a governor, endeavoured to keep him still under their influence, by granting his salary only from year to year, and varying its amount according as he had given satisfaction. This arrangement was very disagreeable to him, and still more to the ministry at home, against whose power it was directly levelled. Burnet, relying on their support, pressed with great vehemence for the desired arrangement; but it was strenuously resisted, and the controversy was suspended by his death in 1729. The cabinet then sent out Belcher, who had formerly acted as their agent, but with distinct instructions to insist on this point, which, it was hoped, his great popularity might gain. He does not, however, seem to have entered on the undertaking very heartily, and when the assembly passed a liberal vote, he obtained permission to accept it. Though still ordered to press the general measure; he seems to have concerned himself very little about the matter, and thus the assembly, by dogged perseverance, finally gained this important object.

In 1740, Belcher fell into unjust suspicion with the ministry, and was removed; but on his innocence being ascertained, he was compensated some years after with the government of New Jersey. He was succeeded by Shirley, who espoused somewhat the cause of prerogative; yet by moderation and great kindness towards the opposite party, he retained a large share of their good will. This was heightened by his zealous promotion of the military operations against Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, which were carried on chiefly from Massachusetts, and crowned with signal success. Pownall, who was appointed in 1757, showed some preference for the popular party, though without alienating their

antagonists ; and his reputation was aided by certain warlike exploits in which he had some share. Bernard, who took his place in 1760, belongs to the period of revolutionary trouble.

We shall now conclude with a rapid sketch of the other colonies of New England, which mostly sprung from Massachusetts, but do not in their history present the same striking events.

CONNECTICUT was an early shoot from that settlement. Some knowledge of the fertile banks of the river so named, and a spirit of restless enterprise, soon excited a strong desire to people this new region, though there was still ample space in the original colony. This project was at first discouraged by the ruling authorities ; but in 1635 and 1636, two successive parties migrated to that quarter, accompanied by Mr. Hooker, who, next to Cotton, was reckoned the light of the western churches. They drove their cattle before them, through the thick, entangled woods, sleeping under the canopy of heaven, and suffering many severe hardships. These they encountered with characteristic firmness ; and reaching the desired spot, founded Hartford, Springfield, and other small villages. In 1637, Eaton and Davenport, with some strict puritans, settled New Haven, which, for a considerable time, held itself independent of Connecticut, as well as of Massachusetts. All these arrangements had been made without any concert with the proprietors in England, Lords Brooke, and Say and Seal, who had obtained the land by assignment from the original company. The colony, however, in 1644, succeeded in purchasing the rights of those noblemen ; a transaction, the legality of which, though doubted, appears never to have been contested. The Dutch also, from Manhattan, claimed the territory, and had a fortified station at the mouth of the river ; but the English treated their pretensions as altogether unfounded, and if they did not attack them, were prepared to resist any attempt to dislodge their own settlers.

The colony, in its very infancy, suffered inconvenience from the war against the Pequod Indians, the events of which we have already noticed. After a severe contest, they completely



Emigration of Hooker.

triumphed, and earned the blessing of a long peace. Both settlements from this time continued in a state of gradual progress. In 1643, they were combined with Massachusetts and Plymouth, into "the united colonies of New England," chiefly with a view to defence against the Dutch, French, and Indians; an arrangement which did not interfere with the freedom of their internal government. On the restoration of Charles II., while Massachusetts kept somewhat aloof, Winthrop hastened to England with congratulations. By his own address, combined with the influence of Lord Say and Seal, and other noblemen, he obtained a charter of the most liberal character, constituting, indeed, an independent democracy. The assembly of deputies had the choice of their governor and assistants; they enacted all laws, could establish courts of justice, levy and employ troops; in short, exercise all the functions of government, with only the

vague limitation, that their laws should not be contrary to those of the mother country. They imagined, too, that their coast extended westward as far as the Pacific. New Haven at first proudly refused to merge her independence, even in this privileged state ; but the address of the younger Winthrop, and the dread of the commission sent out by Charles II. to regulate the colonies, soon induced her to acquiesce. That gentlemen, who was elected governor, showed that, to great talents as a man of the world and a scholar, he united pure patriotism, devoting himself entirely to the welfare of the colony. The intolerance which produced so great evils in Massachusetts, seems never to have prevailed here. In 1680, the train-bands, composed of the males from sixteen to sixty, amounted to 2500, inferring a population of at least 10,000. These were divided among twenty-six towns, which could soon boast of twenty-one churches. There were only about thirty slaves ; paupers were few ; neither beggars nor vagabonds were permitted. The trade, chiefly with Boston and New York, was carried on by twenty petty merchants in twenty-four small vessels ; and the imports did not exceed the value of £9000. The property of the whole corporation was reckoned at about £110,000.

On the accession of James II., Connecticut sent an address of congratulation, which was well received ; but that arbitrary prince, who had determined to cancel all the American charters, was not likely to spare one so foreign to his taste and views. Three successive writs of *quo warranto* were issued ; and the colonists, after craving successive delays, and seeing that the blow could not be warded off, determined to yield. Colonel Treat, the governor, wrote to the secretary of state, making the strongest professions of loyalty, yet with a wish to continue as they were, if consistent with his majesty's princely wisdom ; but, if otherwise, submitting to his royal commands, and only requesting to be joined to the united colonies under Andros, rather than to any other. Randolph, the relentless enemy of American liberty, urged that this was not enough,



Roger Williams entertained by the Indians.

and that nothing less than the entire forfeiture of the charter could finally crush their pretensions. James, however, sincerely gratified by the courteous submission of the people, sent orders to Andros to accept it. Assuming the administration, he at the same time demanded the deed ; but it was carefully concealed in the hollow of an aged elm, which still stands, the object of public veneration. On the accession of William, the charter, having neither been resigned nor any judicial decision obtained against it, was not considered by legal authorities as forfeited ; and that monarch was not prepared to incur the odium of pressing the matter to a conclusion. Thus Connecticut, by timely yielding, retained entire those franchises of which Massachusetts lost a part by her unbending firmness.

RHODE ISLAND.—We have had occasion, in the annals of Massachusetts, to notice the foundation of this little state by Roger Williams. After fleeing from Salem, and encountering

many hardships, he reached a fertile spot at the head of a winding bay, which he named Providence. His friendship with the Indians, whose cause he had always espoused, enabled him without difficulty to procure for himself and a few followers of his adverse fortune a small territory. Here he proclaimed his laudable principle of general toleration; and, receiving with kindness all who sought refuge in his domain, made it the chief resort of the partisans of the movement. Its numerous votaries, thrown out by the rigid orthodoxy of Massachusetts, found here a hearty welcome. A certain motley character, especially in regard to creed and worship, was the necessary consequence. Yet, even in periods of the most rapid innovation, there appears a tendency to unity, caused by the newer and bolder sects absorbing those which preceded, and whose tenets had lost the gloss of novelty. The first great accession was from Mrs. Hutchinson's party; and though their views seem to have had little resemblance to his, the two were quickly amalgamated. These refugees, possessing considerable property, made a large purchase from the Indians, which, combined with Providence, composed the state of Rhode Island. The Baptist movement next followed, which Mrs. Hutchinson and her sister so zealously embraced that they prevailed upon Williams himself, at an advanced age, to submit anew to the sacred rite. Even he, however, was struck with horror at the wild effusions of Gorton, and at seeing them propagated in his settlement with the usual success. Actuated by his characteristic mildness, however, he merely effected an arrangement by which that personage, with his fervid adherents, went out and formed another establishment. This was soon followed by the Quaker excitement, which, in its greatest violence, he had sound judgment enough to repress; but as he allowed to its adherents a refuge denied everywhere else, Rhode Island soon became the point whence they issued forth to the neighbouring states, and upon which they returned. They experienced also the usual success of daring innovators, and, notwithstanding all his efforts, soon

became the ruling sect. Mrs. Hutchinson was dead; but her sister, Catherine Scott, and her intimate friend, Mrs. Dyar, ranked high among the gifted prophetesses.

From these causes, the colony silently grew, and in 1680 was reported to contain five hundred planters and five hundred other men, whence, as these last were apparently adults, we may infer an entire population of about four thousand. Newport was the harbour; but as yet there was very little either of commerce or of shipping. The religious sects were of course numerous, especially the Baptists and Quakers. The settlement, however, had all along been viewed with an evil eye by the people of Massachusetts, who saw in it the chief pivot on which turned that enthusiastic movement by which they were so much annoyed. Its exclusion from the union of the colonies in 1643, marked strongly this spirit, and placed it in a somewhat precarious situation. Williams, however, who, in 1644, came to Britain, where the independents were then in full power, and his friend Vane, one of their chief leaders, easily obtained a popular charter for the towns of Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth, with a recommendation equivalent to an order, that New England should exchange good offices with him. On his return he was received with a species of triumph; and his still jealous neighbours were obliged to content themselves with shutting their state against him and his people. Again, after the Restoration, John Clarke, the agent of the colony, procured from Charles II. a fresh charter, securing all their privileges, and particularly confirming the right of religious freedom. That prince, however, in the end of his reign, and his successor, in a manner still more determined, applied themselves to cancel all the colonial charters. In July, 1685, accordingly, a *quo warranto* was issued against that of Rhode Island, which, being announced to the assembly, they sent a very humble reply, declaring their intention not to stand suit with his majesty, but earnestly soliciting a continuance of their privileges, especially in regard to their faith. James accepted

their submission, and, by his instructions, Andros, in December 1686, dissolved the government, broke its seal, and assumed the entire administration. But after the Revolution, the people laid hold "of their former gracious privileges," and shared in this respect the good fortune of Connecticut. They were allowed to resume their charter, which had never been legally forfeited.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE.—The extensive region between Massachusetts and the country claimed by France under the name of Acadia, having early drawn the notice of English adventurers, the two most active members of the Plymouth Company, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason, undertook to colonize it. The latter, secretary to the council, obtained, in 1621, a grant of the lands between Salem and the Merrimack; and next year, in conjunction with Gorges, of those between the last-mentioned river and the Kennebeck, as far as the St. Lawrence. In 1620, and again in 1635, when the company was broken up, Mason acquired fresh patents for his portion, which then received the name of New Hampshire. In 1638, however, before the settlement had come to any maturity, he died, and his family were unable to derive any benefit from this vast donation. Sir Ferdinand, meantime, at the crisis of 1635, procured for himself exclusively the whole territory from New Hampshire to the Kennebeck, and this was confirmed in 1639, by a patent from the king, when it received the name of Maine.

These proprietors appear to have set great value on their grants, and to have made active exertions to improve them. Dover and Portsmouth were early founded on the Piscataqua; and in 1635, Gorges sent out his nephew to govern the district. Yet their settlements made very slow progress. Being high-church and monarchy men, they granted none of those franchises by which alone emigrants could be attracted to this northern soil; while, to the aristocratic class, Virginia offered a much more tempting resort. Only a few hardy adventurers were en-

ticed by the abundant supply of fish and timber, who gradually formed along the coast small stations, adding the practice of a slight agriculture for the supply of immediate wants.

Massachusetts, however, began to overflow into these territories. In 1637, Wheelwright, the antinomian preacher, founded on the Piscataqua the town of Exeter, without paying much regard to the proprietor's rights, though he was ultimately obliged to submit to his officer, Williams. Three years afterwards, Massachusetts advanced claims to New Hampshire, as being within her patent; and, although her pretensions were far from valid, her strength and the inclination of the people enabled her without difficulty to make them good. This new member was incorporated and endowed with all her political privileges. Several zealous ministers were sent, who are said to have greatly improved the people; but they had the discretion not to enforce any exclusive system, and during nearly forty years of this rule, the foundations of solid prosperity were laid. The feeling spread among the small seaports which began to stud the coast of Maine, and they were successively, either at their own request, or by the consent of large majorities, incorporated with the others. The proprietors loudly, and with good show of reason, remonstrated against these proceedings, but without obtaining any redress. The independents, now in power, were adverse to them, and friendly to Massachusetts; while the people, included within the political system of the latter state, earnestly petitioned for its continuance.

A complete reverse took place at the restoration of Charles II., all whose partialities were in favour of the old royalist proprietors, and against the puritan colony. Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the original patentees, immediately applied for restitution of their rights, which was granted, and the commissioners then sent out were instructed to enforce it. Yet the general court, by their local power, the affections of the inhabitants, and by constantly evading the demand for deputies duly empowered, contrived during sixteen years to retain the juris-

diction ; but being, in 1677, brought before the chief justices of England, their pretensions were at once set aside. Mason was also obliged to yield his authority, though retaining a claim upon the lands. Maine was assigned to Gorges ; but the rulers of Massachusetts contrived to purchase his rights for £1250, a sum, perhaps, above its actual value at the moment. They incurred reproach by treating it as a subject territory, appointing the governor and council, though they graciously allowed a popular legislature.

New Hampshire being thus thrown loose, it was determined to manage it as a royal province ; and in 1682, Edward Cranfield was sent as administrator. His government was one continued scene of discontent on the part of the people, amounting sometimes to rebellion. Mr. Bancroft represents him as avowedly making it his sole object to amass money. It appears more certain that all his maxims were those of high prerogative ; while Massachusetts had breathed among the people the puritan and republican spirit in its full force. He wrote “ that while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance would be found in those parts.” In 1685, he solicited his recall, declaring he should “ esteem it the greatest happiness in the world to be allowed to remove from those unreasonable people.” Presently after, this country, with the whole of New England, was united under the successive governments of Dudley and Andros. At the Revolution, it again became a separate and royal colony, though with some dependence on Massachusetts.



William Penn.

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.



IN the history of New England we find exhibited the extravagance indulged in by the Quakers. Carrying to an undue length that religious movement which produced the Reformation, they relinquished a proper regard not only to forms and ordinances, but to reason, and, in some degree, to Scripture, yielding themselves in a great measure to the guidance of visions and inward illuminations. They constituted at this period, as already observed, the extreme of the ultra-protestant section, which thenceforth began to recede from its too forward position. Not only did no similar sects spring up, but they themselves gradually

pruned away the exaggerated features of their system. They assumed even a remarkably sedate character, and, retaining still their deep devotional feeling, with only a few outward peculiarities, distinguished themselves in the walks of life by practical philanthropy. In this chastened and reformed Quakerism, the lead was taken by William Penn, one of the most illustrious characters of modern times. Born to rank and distinction, son to an admiral who had attained celebrity under Cromwell by the conquest of Jamaica, he embraced at college this persecuted cause, and devoted himself to it throughout his whole life. Refusing to retract or compromise his views, he was expelled from his father's house, becoming amenable to all the rigours then enforced against eccentric modes of religious worship and teaching. He indulged at first in certain extravagances; but ripening years, combined with extensive study, and travel over a great part of Europe, enlarged his mind; and, while retaining the same devoted attachment to what was valuable in his system, he purified it from its principal errors. His steady course of Christian kindness gained for him the general esteem of the public, and ultimately led to a reconciliation with his parent, who bequeathed to him the whole of his property.

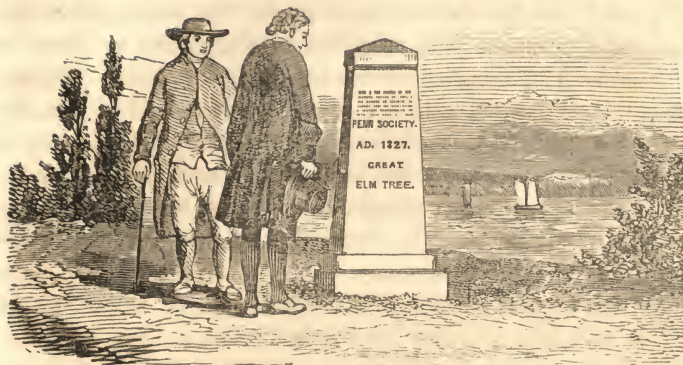
Among the tenets of this school, which Penn at all times advocated with the utmost zeal, was that of complete liberty in religious opinion and worship. It became, indeed, a leading object of his life to render himself a shield not only to his own people, but to all who on this ground were exposed to suffering and persecution. Unable as yet fully to accomplish his end in the old world, he conceived the plan of providing for them, in the new continent, an asylum similar to that of their pilgrim ancestors. By founding there a state open to the votaries of every faith, he might, he hoped, fulfil this benevolent purpose, and at the same time secure for himself a degree of importance and wealth. He possessed, in virtue of his father's services, a claim on government, estimated at £16,000; but after a long delay, amid the exigencies of the court, he could not without difficulty have

rendered it effective in any shape, except for one favourable circumstance. He enjoyed the favour both of Charles II. and James II., and was always a welcome guest at Whitehall. This intercourse with princes whose character was so unlike his own, excited in that age a feeling of surprise which we can scarcely avoid sharing. The most injurious surmises arose,—he was represented as a Papist, and even a Jesuit. He seems, however, to have clearly proved, that he never concurred in any of the illegal measures of those rulers, but employed his influence almost solely with the view of obtaining protection for those numerous sufferers in whom he took so deep an interest. Had his object been money, he must have encountered many obstacles in obtaining it from the dilapidated treasury of Charles. It was much easier to get the royal assent respecting a desert region beyond the Atlantic, whence no immediate benefit was derived. His petition, being presented in June, 1680, was referred to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, who declared it to be unobjectionable, provided the rights of these individuals were preserved inviolate. Penn, therefore, submitted the draft of a charter, which, after being revised by Chief Justice North and the Bishop of London, was passed under the seal-royal. It granted to him the tract in America extending northwards from the 40th to the 43d degree of latitude, and five degrees of longitude westward, from a boundary line drawn twelve miles from Newcastle on the Delaware. Nearly the same privileges were conceded as were formerly granted to Lord Baltimore. The proprietor was empowered to dispose of the lands in fee-simple, to levy taxes with consent of the freemen or their delegates, to erect courts of justice, and (what one might scarcely have expected) to raise forces for the defence of the province by sea and land. There was reserved, however, the sovereignty of the crown, and its claim to allegiance; also an appeal from the courts to the king in council, and the right of Parliament to levy custom-duties. The acts passed by the Assembly and the owner were to be transmitted within five years to his majesty, and if

considered unconstitutional, might be disallowed. The Bishop of London stipulated for the reception of a preacher, as soon as one should be requested by twenty of the settlers.

Invested with these ample powers, Penn proceeded to give to the colony a constitution, on a very liberal footing. A council of seventy-two, elected by the body of the people, and having a third of their number renewed every year, carried on the executive government, in conjunction with the proprietor, who was allowed three votes. This body was divided into four committees, of plantation, trade, justice, and education. They prepared the bills and propositions which were submitted to the General Assembly, also elected by the people. They were to sit nine days only, during eight of which they were to consider the proposals made by the council, and on the ninth to pronounce their decision. This system, said to have been copied chiefly from the Oceana of Harrington, was not very well fitted for practical purposes, and had not a long duration.

Penn now circulated widely his proposals through Britain, France, and Germany; the oppressed and impoverished of every class being invited to this land of promise. He recommended it not only to those who suffered under religious persecution, but "to industrious labourers and handicraftsmen—ingenious spirits low in the world—younger brothers of small inheritances, instead of hanging on as retainers on their elder brother's table and charity—lastly, to men of an universal spirit, who have an eye to the good of posterity." The necessary expense of conveyance was stated to be,—for an adult 5*l.*, a child under twelve 2*l.* 10*s.*, goods 2*l.* per ton. Those who could not afford even this moderate amount, were informed that, on engaging with emigrants of property for a service of four years, not only would their passage be defrayed, but at the end of the term they would receive fifty acres, at 2*s.* quit-rent. An extent of five thousand acres was sold for 100*l.*, with 50*s.* quit-rent, commencing only in 1684. Those who preferred might pay merely a quit-rent of 1*d.* an acre, or 20*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Smaller tracts



Treaty Monument.

were disposed of at corresponding prices. Poor men were allowed fifty acres at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per acre.

These advantageous terms, the troubled state of Europe, and the high character of the proprietor, caused his proposal to be received with general favour. An influx into America took place, such as had never been equalled since the days of the first settlers. Between 1682 and 1685, there arrived ninety sail, conveying an average of eighty passengers, in all seven thousand two hundred, besides one thousand who had landed in 1681. They had been sent under his kinsman Markham, to take possession of the country, and prepare the way for the larger colony. He found no difficulty in completing the purchase of an extensive tract of land from the Indians, on terms satisfactory to them, yet moderate for the buyer.

In October, 1682, Penn arrived, with a body of two thousand emigrants. After some time spent in surveying his new possessions, he, in the beginning of 1683, arranged a meeting with the native chiefs, under the canopy of a spacious elm tree, near the present site of Philadelphia. They appeared on the day appointed, in their rude attire, and with brandished wea-

pons, beneath the shadow of those dense woods which covered what is now a fine and cultivated plain. On learning that the English approached, they deposited their arms and sat down in groups, each tribe behind its own chieftain. Penn, then stepping forward in his usual plain dress, and unarmed, held forth in his hand the parchment on which the treaty was engrossed. In a simple speech, he announced to them those principles of equity and amity upon which he desired that all their future intercourse should be conducted. He besought them to keep this parchment during three generations. The Indians replied, in their usual solemn and figurative language, that they would live in peace with him and with his children while the sun and moon should endure. A friendly display like this is by no means unusual in the first opening of intercourse between civilized and savage nations; but seldom, indeed, does it long continue unbroken, or fail even of being succeeded by an embittered enmity. Pennsylvania afforded at least one happy exception. Her founder continued with this savage people on terms not only of peace, but of intimate union; he visited them in their villages, he slept in their wigwams; they welcomed him almost as a brother. Forty years afterwards they said to the governor, Sir William Keith, as the highest possible compliment:—"We esteem and love you as if you were William Penn himself." What was still more wonderful, the colonists, though they had to struggle with many uncongenial spirits in their own body, succeeded in maintaining good terms with the natives; and for nearly a century, the Indian tomahawk was never lifted against a people who would have considered it unlawful to return the blow.

His next object was to found a capital for his new settlement. He chose a site upon a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, in a situation which appeared at once agreeable and healthy, abounding in water, and with convenient river communications. He gave to it the name of Philadelphia, (brotherly love,) under which it has become one of the most flourishing cities

in the New World. Combining the taste for neatness and regularity characteristic of his people, with a love of rural nature, he planned a town composed of parallel streets, each sixty feet broad, crossed by others also spacious, and some indicating by their very names, Vine, Mulberry, Chestnut, that the verdure of the country was still to enliven them. The purchasers of five thousand acres were to have a house in one of the two principal streets, with a garden and orchard; those of one thousand in the three next; such as were under one thousand acres, in the cross streets. In 1684, fifty villages, arranged in regular squares, had sprung up, on a similar plan, though on a smaller scale.

In December, 1682, Penn proceeded to Maryland, to adjust with Lord Baltimore the boundaries of their respective provinces. His lordship received him as he had before received his agent Markham, with the utmost politeness; yet the arrangement was found very difficult and vexatious. The specified limit of the 40th degree had, in the maps of that age, been made to run across the Bay of Chesapeake, about the latitude of Pool's Island. Thus the head of that great inlet was left within the bounds assigned to Pennsylvania, and afforded an advantageous outlet for her commerce. Lord Baltimore, however, caused a new and more scientific survey to be made, showing that this limit really lay considerably to the north of any part of the bay, from which the new province was thus wholly excluded. This circumstance bore heavily upon the philanthropist, whose colony was thus deprived of all direct maritime trade. He earnestly urged, that the space in question was a hundred times more valuable to him than to the other party, of whose territory this was only an outer tract, scarcely at all known or settled; that the proprietor of Maryland must probably have gained by the error in settling his own boundaries with Virginia; and that the understanding upon which the grant had been made ought to be taken into consideration. Their interests came into collision on another point. Penn had obtained a grant from the Duke of York of the whole coast



Penn's Interview with Lord Baltimore.

of the river and bay of Delaware, southward from Newcastle to Cape Henlopen, which would in some degree have supplied his want of a seacoast. But the other party claimed all the shores of this bay also, as included within the 40th degree. Both parties, during their personal intercourse, maintained their claims with extreme pertinacity, yet with politeness; but the correspondence which afterwards ensued is tinged with considerable bitterness, each accusing the other of forwarding his views in an unfair manner. It became necessary to refer the question to the Committee of Plantation, who, in November, 1685, came to the decision that the 40th degree, in its real direction, must be the boundary, thus excluding the Quakers from the Chesapeake. But while they allowed that the Maryland patent had extended indeed to the Delaware, they considered that it had been granted

only in respect to such countries as were not occupied by any Christian people, while that region had been already colonized in considerable numbers by the Dutch and Swedes. Hence it was determined that the eastern part belonged of right to the crown, including Penn's domain, which was thereby rendered valid, and gave him the command of that fine estuary, thus in a great measure compensating his loss on another side.

In 1684, Penn was induced by this and other affairs to return to England, leaving the administration in the hands of commissioners; a body who did not by any means work harmoniously. Moore, a leading proprietary officer, was accused by the Assembly of corruption and other high misdemeanors; which charge being strenuously resisted by the executive, a violent collision ensued. The proprietor, while he felt disposed to grant a liberal government to his settlers, was probably little prepared to make over to them the whole political power, which yet they seem to have been determined to grasp. In 1686, he sent instructions to his officers to dissolve the constitution, which he had so studiously constructed. The Assembly, however, foreseeing that the change was proposed with a view to the abridgment of their privileges, resolutely opposed his views. He then determined to supersede the commission, and appoint a deputy-governor, as more likely to support his authority.

The person selected was Blackwell, who is admitted to have been no Quaker, and indeed to have had nothing akin to the character. The apology made seems singular, namely, that no one of that profession could be found fit for the office, and willing to undertake it. We may rather suspect that, being a dexterous politician and high advocate for power, he was expected to beat down the democratic opposition. His efforts for this purpose were carried to an extreme. White, who, as former speaker, had been active in the prosecution of Moore, having been re-elected as delegate, was thrown into prison, and his claim under the *habeas corpus* act evaded. The most embittered messages passed between the governor and Assembly. He contrived, how-

ever, to gain over a part of the members, and thus to carry on the government.

On these proceedings being represented to him, Penn was not disposed to support them; and he now threw almost everything into the hands of the council, on whom he conferred the power of choosing the executive officers and deputy-governor: they elected Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker preacher of great merit. But neither did this arrangement work well. Schisms arose among the too numerous body; and violent protests were made. The chief conflicts, which were between the old territory of Pennsylvania and the new counties on the Delaware, rose to such a height, that the proprietor was obliged reluctantly to separate the two territories; appointing Markham governor of the latter, which ultimately formed a small state, bearing the name of that great bay. Peace did not reign among the Quakers themselves. George Keith, one of the most eminent among them as a preacher and writer, disappointed perhaps at not himself obtaining a lead in the government, proclaimed that no one of his sect could lawfully act as an executive officer or magistrate, and if he did, had no claim to any obedience. These doctrines, enforced not in the mildest terms, brought him under the cognizance of the authorities. His adherents allege that their proceedings were violent and irregular; that without hearing or inquiry he was proclaimed in the market-place a seditious person, and an enemy to the king and queen; and that the ministers, with as little ceremony, denounced him as not having the fear of God before his eyes. The actual penalty was only a moderate fine, and not even enforced; but the finding himself proscribed among his brethren, both in the colony and at home, seems to have exasperated him;—he became an enemy to the Quakers, abandoned their communion, and finally accepted an episcopal benefice. He was lamented by them as a mighty man fallen from the high places of Israel; and the noise made by these feuds seriously injured the colony in the crisis which now arose.

The Pennsylvanians, who had owed everything to James II.,

did not share the general joy at his abdication in 1688. The news was unwillingly believed; and the government, till September, 1689, was still administered in his name. This was carefully reported from New York; while in England, charges were brought against the proprietor as adhering to popery, or at least strongly attached to the exiled house. William, after some hesitation, deprived him of his patent; and in April, 1693, Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, assumed authority also over Pennsylvania. The Assembly professed their willingness to obey, provided they were ruled in the usual manner, and by laws founded on letters-patent. But he intimated that they were much mistaken; that the change had been made on account of neglects and miscarriages; and that his majesty's mode of governing would be in direct opposition to that of Mr. Penn. It was even maintained that all the former laws had been abrogated, though a willingness was expressed to re-enact the greater number. The Assembly, however, insisted on their validity; and, while acknowledging the authority of the king, denied the charge of former misgovernment.* They resisted also the demands for money; and thus a perpetual strife reigned between them and the governor, who declared that nothing would remedy the evil but annexation to New York; and complained that, though his door was never shut, it was avoided, as if it had been treason to be seen in his company.

Penn, meantime, passed through many trials; and after being repeatedly acquitted, was arraigned on fresh charges. However, he was strongly supported by Locke, Rochester, and other friends; and as nothing could be proved against him except a personal attachment to King James, without sharing his bigotry, William, in August, 1694, passed the patent for his restoration. As he could not go out in person, Markham was again appointed deputy. But the Assembly, though pleased to be rid of the royal government, did not show any greater deference to that of the proprietary. They had wrested the privilege of originating bills, and availed themselves of it so far as to draw almost the

whole power into their hands. Markham, on convening them in 1697, said :—" You are met, not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves."

In 1699, Penn again visited the colony. His object seems to have been to obtain the consent of the people to a constitution which, granting them every reasonable franchise, might preserve to himself the ordinary powers of an executive head. After much difficulty and opposition, he had the address to carry his point. The original frame was surrendered, and a new one formed, based on the more common and approved principles of representative government. The Assembly, as elsewhere, was to have the power of originating bills; but these were to require the assent of the proprietary. He obtained also the important privilege of naming the council, and had thus to contend with only one popular body instead of two.

He had gone out with the avowed intention of spending the rest of his life in Pennsylvania; but he was recalled by a project for abolishing all the proprietary governments, for which purpose a new bill had been introduced into Parliament. He was mortified to find this measure supported by a considerable body of his own colonists. His liberal arrangements and invitations had attracted many whose dispositions were wholly alien to him and his sect, and who indignantly submitted to their authority. They complained that, amid the professed religious equality, all government and power were "engrossed and confined to the Quakers, and all others his majesty's good subjects excluded and denied the benefit of the king's laws and the rights of subjects." Under this strange rule no provision was made for defence against enemies either at home or abroad. The crown, they insisted, ought to have the power of levying men and money, of calling Assemblies, and of life and death, leaving to Penn only his manorial rights.

Penn, however, on reaching England, was gratified to find that the dreaded project had been renounced, and the bill withdrawn. He acquired considerable favour with Queen Anne;

but circumstances prevented his return. Hamilton, appointed his deputy, was still troubled by internal dissensions. These were not abated by the nomination, in 1703, of Evans, in whom we see a character the most opposite to that of the proprietor himself. This officer, young, lively, fond of frolic and revelry, and inflamed with military ardour, was utterly opposed to the Quaker assembly, and treated with derision their pacific dispositions. He began to erect forts without their permission, and endeavoured, but in vain, to rouse them by a false alarm of a French invasion. On having three of their bills presented to him, he told them "they were very great absurdities." They sent home loud remonstrances, complaining also that under the new frame their liberties were greatly abridged. Penn listened unwillingly, and it was not till 1709, that this unsuitable ruler was removed. He was succeeded by Gookin, an Irish gentleman, of good age and mild manners; yet the discontents still continued. The war with Canada having broken out, he had the ungracious task of demanding a supply of 4000*l*. and one hundred and fifty men. It was privately intimated that the money would suffice; but the assembly declared that they could not in conscience either fight or hire others to do so; however, they offered the queen a present of 500*l*. The chief objection made was to the amount; but on this point, pleading poverty, they stood firm. An equal sum was afterwards, in a similar manner, extracted from them.

In 1710, Penn, having reached the age of sixty-six, sent out a solemn remonstrance on the fueds and discontent in which the settlers had so long indulged. Amid the satisfaction of seeing the colony free and flourishing, their disputes had been to him a source of grief, trouble, and poverty. Recapitulating the whole train of his proceedings, he appealed to them whether he had given any real cause for this conduct; he lamented the unhappiness they were bringing on themselves, as well as the scandal they were causing in the eyes of Europe, by such incessant contention. This appeal was not unsuccessful; and in the

next year an assembly much more friendly to him was elected. It is doubtful, however, if this news ever reached him. Oppressed with embarrassment and losses incurred seemingly without blame, he had entered into a treaty with government for transferring his territorial rights, and had agreed to accept for them 12,000*l*. A series of apoplectic shocks, however, entirely deprived him of his faculties, and disabled him from completing the bargain, so that the property remained in his family.

The favour restored to Penn was not extended to Gookin, whom the assembly accused of arbitrary measures, and of favouring the non-quaker part of the population. In 1716, he was succeeded by Sir William Keith, who, during the illness of the founder, was named by the king. This governor enjoyed a much greater degree of favour than any of his predecessors, though he is accused of purchasing it by too entire an acquiescence in the demands of the assembly, and allowing almost the whole power to pass into their hands. Such, at least, was the opinion of the proprietaries, who considered him also as neglecting their interest, and at the end of nine years removed him. He then attempted to raise a factious opposition, but was obliged to leave the colony. After a peaceable administration of several years by Major Gordon, Thomas and afterwards John Penn, sons of the late owner, went out in 1732 and 1734. They were received with the most cordial welcome, though the former did not altogether preserve his popularity.

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the character of the population underwent a gradual change. From the first a large proportion had been drawn from Germany, and Pennsylvania became the favourite resort of those who, by poverty and persecution, were driven from that country. A considerable number, who felt uneasy in the neighbouring states, joined their countrymen. The prevailing sect among this people was the branch of the Anabaptists called Mennonites, who, to a great extent, harmonized with the Quakers, both in their

character and religious views. In 1755, a writer estimates that of the entire population of two hundred and twenty thousand, nearly a half were Germans, and two-fifths of the remainder disciples of Barclay. The threatening attitude which the French and their Indian allies had now assumed along the back settlements, gave so much force to this complaint, that, in 1755, an act was extorted from the members for embodying and training a regiment of provincial militia. The Quakers thenceforth withdrew in a great measure from public affairs, and resigned that power which they had held upwards of seventy years. They had not exercised it with all the moderation which would have been desirable and suitable to their profession; yet during this long period, they had maintained profound peace with the Indians, against whom other states had waged the most bitter hostilities. Amid the reiterated complaints, too, of the want of provision for state defence, the fact was, that no enemy had ever molested its borders. They soon after distinguished themselves by the noble measure of generally emancipating their negro slaves, who had insensibly increased to a considerable number.



CHAPTER VIII.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY.



WHILE the early history of many of the colonies, which have not arisen to great importance since, is marked with circumstances of deep interest, that of New York, which has attained to the first eminence among the states, is comparatively common place in its details.

About the year 1600, the attention of the English and Dutch had been directed to the discovery of a northern passage to India, which they hoped might at once be shorter, and enable them to escape the still formidable hostility of Spain. After this object had been vainly pursued by Frobisher, Davis, Barentz, and other navigators, it was resumed by Henry Hudson. In 1609, while in the service of the Dutch West India Company, he discovered the river Hudson, and sailed up it as far as the town, which now bears his name.

He transmitted to the Dutch Company a flattering report of the country which he had discovered, strongly recommending a settlement:

The Dutch, in virtue of this discovery, claimed the country, and in 1610, a few individuals fitted out a vessel for traffic. Several stations were formed on the island of Manhattan (the name then given to New York,) but no attempt was made to colonize. In 1613, they were visited by Argall, the adventurous English captain, who compelled them to own the dominion of his country; but as no steps were taken to follow up this advantage, they continued, as before, to trade with the natives, and consider the land their own. In 1614, a grant of exclusive commerce was made to a company of merchants, who thereupon erected a rude fort, and pushed their operations as

high as Albany. They appear at the same time to have formed a station at the mouth of the Connecticut.

In 1620, American settlement was attempted on a grander scale, by the formation of the Dutch West India Company, incorporated for twenty-four years. Their privileges included the whole western coast of Africa, as far as the Cape, with all the eastern shores of America, from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan. Over this vast extent they had the exclusive right to conclude treaties, carry on war, and exercise all the functions of government. No notice was taken in the grant, that the whole of this territory was claimed, and many parts occupied, by other European nations; nor did the government, in making this vast donation of what was not their own, promise the means of placing it in the company's hands. Their possessions, accordingly, were fiercely disputed, and most precariously held. The weakness of the Portuguese crown enabled them to grasp large portions of its territory in Brazil and on the African coast. In North America, they did not venture to measure their strength with the English, but were content silently to enlarge their stations on the Hudson, which the latter showed no disposition to occupy. The country was called New Netherlands; and an increasing cluster of cottages, where New York now stands, was named New Amsterdam.

As yet there was nothing that could be denominated a colony; but in 1629, government interposed to establish one on a considerable scale. It was planned on quite an aristocratic basis; for, though lands were granted to detached settlers, the chief dependence was on opulent individuals, who were expected to carry out bodies of tenants at their own expense; and those who should transport fifty became lords of manors, holding the absolute property of the lands thus colonized. They might even possess tracts sixteen miles long, and be furnished with negroes, if they could profitably do so. Several of them began to found these manors; two, Godyn and De Vries, led out thirty settlers to the head of Delaware Bay, laying the

first foundation of that state ; but the latter having visited home, found on his return that it had been attacked by the Indians and totally destroyed. The whole colony was unprosperous, and very hard pressed on different sides. The New England settlement in Connecticut soon surrounded their little station, obliged them to give way, and even to abandon part of Long Island. At the same time, the Swedes, then in the height of their power under Gustavus Adolphus, planned a settlement, which was zealously supported by that great monarch, who subscribed 400,000 dollars in its favour. They fixed on the Bay of Delaware ; and though Kieft, the governor sent from Holland, entered a protest, he did not venture to employ force against the conqueror of Lutzen. Moreover, Lord Baltimore, having just obtained his patent extending northward to the latitude of 40° , intimated his claim to nearly the whole of the Dutch territory. All these annoyances, however, were small compared to the Indian war, in which the atrocious violence of Kieft involved the colony. Attacking by surprise a party who had shown some hostile dispositions, he commenced a general massacre, in which nearly a hundred perished. Hence raged during two years a contest, accompanied by the usual horrors and calamities, and which effectually checked the progress of New Netherlands. At length a treaty was negotiated, in which the five nations were included.

A few years after, in 1646, the governor was recalled, to the great satisfaction of the people, and was succeeded by Stuyvesant, a military officer of distinction, brave, honest, and with some tincture of letters. Adopting a wise and humane policy towards the Indians, he succeeded in obviating any disturbance from that quarter. By negotiation with the company, he obtained a release from those trammels by which commerce had hitherto been fettered, substituting moderate duties on exports and imports. He suffered, however, much trouble from the English, who were continually extending their frontier on and beyond the Connecticut, and set scarcely any limit to their



Governor Stuyvesant.

claims. The settlers discouraged greatly any idea of going to war with so powerful a neighbour, and exhorted him to gain the best terms he could by treaty. By large concessions he obtained a provisional compact, which was never indeed ratified in Britain, yet obtained for his people some security. Stuyvesant then turned his eyes on the other side to the Swedish colony, which had prospered and become a commercial rival. It was much inferior, however, to New Netherlands, while the death of Gustavus and of his great ministers and generals, succeeded by the fantastic sway of Christina, rendered her country no longer formidable. He therefore, with the sanction of his

employers, determined to reannex it, for which some violent proceedings on the part of Risingh, the governor, afforded a fair pretext. Having assembled a force of six hundred men, he marched into New Sweden, as it was termed, which, after a short resistance, renounced that name, and became incorporated with the Dutch dependency. A few of the settlers returned to their native country; the rest yielded to the mild sway of the conqueror. Stuyvesant was next annoyed by Lord Baltimore, who could boast that his charter entitled him to extend his borders to New England, leaving no room whatever for New Netherlands; but as his pretensions were not supported by any adequate force, they were easily evaded.

The company, though they did not grant any political franchises to the colonists, took great care to have them well governed, and to check those despotic practices in which Stuyvesant, from his military habits, was prone to indulge. They prohibited likewise all persecution, and studied to make the country a refuge for professors of every creed. From France, the Low Countries, the Rhine, Northern Germany, Bohemia, the mountains of Piedmont, the suffering Protestants flocked to this transatlantic asylum. Even the New Englanders, allured by the fine climate and fertile soil, arrived in great numbers, and formed entire villages. It therefore became expedient to have a secretary of their nation, and to issue proclamations in French and English, as well as Dutch.

Considering the long and embittered hostility of England against the Dutch, it may appear wonderful that she did not sooner attempt the conquest of a valuable possession, to which she had so plausible a title. Cromwell, in fact, had projected it, but was diverted by other objects. Charles II., always prejudiced against that people, soon adopted the same resolution; and even before any measure was taken for conquering the country, he included it in a grant made to his brother James, of the territory from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, and from the Connecticut to the Delaware. To make good this donation, Sir Robert

Nichols was sent out with an expedition, to be reinforced by a detachment from another colony. The Dutch had for some time foreseen the crisis; but, unwilling to expend their funds in sending troops, they urged the governor to seek means of defence within his own dominions. This, from circumstances which happened in the colony, was exceedingly difficult; and though Stuyvesant, in this emergency, granted the demand of the colonists for a representative assembly, it was too late to inspire confidence, and the people declined making any sacrifices to repel a power from whom they hoped more liberal treatment. In August, 1664, Nichols cast anchor in face of New Amsterdam, having landed part of his troops on Long Island. He immediately summoned the city to surrender, guarantying to the people their property, the rights of citizens, their ancient laws and usages. The governor attempted by delay and negotiation to parry the blow; but the other declined all discussion, and the principal inhabitants, headed by Winthrop from Connecticut, assembling in the town-hall, determined against offering any resistance. They drew up articles of surrender conformable to the demand of the English officer, which, however, Stuyvesant refused to sign till the place was actually in the enemy's hands.

The colonists were disappointed in their hope of augmented privileges, having fallen into the hands of the Duke of York (from whom the state derived its name), one who afterwards showed himself willing to sacrifice a crown in the attempt to establish absolute power. Under his direction, Nichols and his successor Lovelace admitted no sharers in their authority except a court of assizes, composed of a council and justices of the peace, all appointed by themselves. In the governor and this body was vested the whole power, legislative, executive, and judicial. The arbitrary imposition of taxes, as usual, excited the strongest discontent. Nichols extracted sums of money by declaring new patents necessary for the Dutch, on which fees were exacted. Lovelace is said to have avowed the policy of laying on duties so heavy, that the people might have leisure to think of nothing

but the means of paying them. In some cases payment was refused; and from different quarters such warm remonstrances appeared, that they were condemned to be burned by the common executioner. In these circumstances, hostilities broke out between England and Holland; a small squadron, under Evertzen, appearing before New York, encountered no resistance; he regained the city and country with the same ease and rapidity that Nichols had conquered it. The war, however, was occasioned by the famous league of Louis XIV. and Charles II., entirely to crush the Dutch republic. That people encountered it with glory and saved themselves; but in such a hard struggle, they could not expect to secure conquests. It was honourable for them to obtain a treaty, stipulating the restoration of those made on each side; but on this ground they again lost New York.

The duke then obtained a new patent, securing more ample powers than ever to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his deputies should establish. Andros, long an instrument of despotism, was sent out as governor, but encountered in some quarters open though fruitless opposition. James applauded his energy on this occasion, as well as his prudence in "discouraging all mention of assemblies." The people, however, were not by any means patient under this denial, especially when, at the expiration of three years, for which the taxes had been at first imposed, they were renewed during an equal period, without the slightest reference to themselves. They made such loud complaints against Andros, that he was recalled to answer for his conduct. Soon after, Dyer, collector of the revenue, was charged with high treason, for levying taxes without authority of law, and sent to England for trial. Both were acquitted; but the duke was so wrought upon by these violent measures, and the importunity of the colonists, that he at length agreed to give a representation. It was to consist of eighteen members, to act in conjunction with a council of ten: a concession which was less valued, because it was carried into execution by Dongan, a new governor, who, as a zealous catholic, was held in horror. The

assembly was, however, called, and sat two sessions, 1683 and 1684, passing several laws, which were confirmed by his royal highness. So great, on the whole, was the satisfaction felt, that his accession to the throne was hailed with heartfelt rejoicings. But a change had come over his views, or rather they had relapsed into their ordinary channel. The charter of Massachusetts having been forfeited, and a determination formed to exclude the people from all representative government, it would have been very inconvenient to let them see neighbours possessing what was denied to themselves. Instructions were accordingly sent to the governor to call no more assemblies, but to centre again the legislative power in his own person. In 1688, Andros was sent out to unite New York, along with all the New England states, in one system of absolute rule. This annexation was peculiarly odious to the former, in whose eyes the others had always been objects of peculiar dread and aversion. Thus James, as the time approached when friends would be so much wanted, studiously converted those he had into imbittered enemies. The first rumours of his downfall were received with equal joy here as at Boston. As soon as the landing of the Prince of Orange was known, a multitude rose in arms, under the conduct of Jacob Leisler, a foreign merchant, of an ardent and daring character. They signed a declaration, "to guard the fort, on behalf of the powers now governing England, to be surrendered to the person, of *the protestant religion*, who shall be sent to take possession thereof." The council found themselves unable to stem the torrent, and, without attempting to defend the place, requested Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, to proceed to England in order to represent to William the state of affairs, doubtless to influence him in favour of their own party, and represent the declarants as turbulent and seditious. The latter, however, being left in the full possession of power, called an assembly of the people, who were joined by two deputies from Connecticut. A committee of safety was appointed, having

Leisler at their head, who was also placed in command of the fort.

The king, meantime, before being apprized of these proceedings, sent orders to Nicholson to continue for the present to administer affairs. But this functionary had set out for London before the instructions arrived, when Leisler, finding them addressed to the absent officer, "or to such as for the time execute the law," chose to consider them as applying to himself, and thereupon assumed the title and duties of governor. He held two assemblies, and concluded a treaty with New England, agreeing to raise nine hundred men for their mutual defence. But though supported by a majority, he was opposed by a powerful party, who disowned his authority, and insulted him even in the capital; while open resistance was raised in the district of Albany. The opposition was put down, but not without violent measures, which inflamed still further the enmity of its supporters, and excited a degree of general odium. William, meantime, always disposed to employ the agents of his despotic predecessor, was guided by the advice of Nicholson, and, taking no notice of Leisler's pretensions, sent Colonel Sloughter to administer the government. This officer did not arrive till March, 1691, when he found the other most unwilling to relinquish the reins of power, which he had held upwards of two years. Pretending that the colonel's commission was defective, and that only an authority under the king's hand could be held sufficient, he refused to surrender the fort, or own him as chief ruler. But a large party arrayed themselves in arms against him, while his adherents, dreading the superior influence of the mother-country, afforded only timid support. He tendered his submission; but the new governor refused it, seized his person, and issued a special commission to try him: he and his associates were condemned to death, and the sentence was executed upon himself and Milbourne, his principal adviser. This punishment, considering his former services, was regarded as exceedingly severe. The Parliament accordingly passed an act reversing the attain-

der ; and the privy council, though they declared the sentence to be legal, recommended the restoration of the forfeited estates. There remained a strong party attached to his memory, and zealous in upholding the franchises of the colony.

Sloughter died suddenly soon after his arrival, and was succeeded by Colonel Fletcher, an able officer, but intemperate and domineering. As the assembly strenuously maintained their privileges, he was speedily involved in violent contests with them ; arising chiefly out of his attempt to introduce an Episcopal establishment, to which he was bigotedly attached. By great exertions, he contrived to obtain an act of assembly sanctioning it ; but that body annexed a clause giving to the people the entire choice of their own ministers. Another favourite object was to obtain the command of the militia of Connecticut ; but when he went thither, the colonists, following an old precedent, caused the drums to beat, by which his voice was entirely drowned. Astonished at this determination, he thought it best to retreat to his own jurisdiction ; and the legal authorities at home decided against him. At length, finding that the American assemblies were not to be intimidated, he gave up the attempt, and his latter years were tranquil.

In 1698, he was succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, who, having been highly popular in New England, seems to have desired to pursue a similar course in this colony. Unfortunately, he found it rent by the most violent dissensions between the partisans of the unfortunate Leisler and their aristocratic opponents. He studied to soothe the former, and aided in procuring from the assembly a grant of 1000*l.* to the son of that leader. His administration, however, was too short to enable him to overcome the prevailing dissensions. It was unfortunate for him that Kidd, whom he employed in the important object of suppressing piracy, betrayed his trust, and became himself a robber on the high seas, for which he was sent to Britain, tried, and executed.

Bellamont died, in 1701, and was succeeded by Lord Corn-

bury, a degenerate descendant of the Earl of Clarendon. Entirely opposite to his predecessor, he showed an imbibed enmity to the popular party, accompanied by a bigoted attachment to Episcopacy, and hatred of all other forms of religion. He seconded also the attempts made by Dudley to subvert the charter of Connecticut. Indulging in extravagant habits, he squandered large sums of the public money, and contracted debts, the payment of which his official situation enabled him to evade. He thus rendered himself odious and contemptible to all parties, who united in a firm remonstrance to Queen Anne, and induced her to revoke his commission. No longer protected by the privileges of office, he was thrown into prison, and obtained liberation only when the death of his father raised him to the peerage.

Lord Lovelace succeeded, who, on his arrival, made a demand, destined to cause much dissension, for a permanent salary to the governor. Yet his general deportment was popular and satisfactory; but he lived only a few months. The reins were then held for a short time by Ingoldsby, who also made himself very acceptable; and in 1710, the office was filled by Sir Robert Hunter, a man of wit and talent, by which he had raised himself from a low rank in society. He went out, however, strongly imbued with the monarchical principle, and determined to resist the claims of the assembly. In advancing the demand for a fixed income, he made use of very offensive expressions, insinuating doubts of their right to appropriate the public money, and suspicions that it was the government, not the governor, whom they disliked. In the council also, the doctrine was advanced, that the assembly existed only "by the mere grace of the crown." The latter body strenuously vindicated their rights, and refused to grant more than a temporary provision. They remonstrated strongly also against the establishment of a Court of Chancery, suspected to be with a view of increasing his emoluments. On this ground there seemed great hazard of a collision; but Hunter, being a sensible man,

and seeing their very strong determination, deemed it expedient to yield; and, during his latter years, he studied with success to maintain harmony among the different branches of the administration.

He was succeeded by Burnet, a son of the celebrated bishop and historian, an accomplished, amiable man. He appears to have zealously studied the welfare of the colony; he became very generally popular; and was particularly successful in gaining over the Indian tribes. His attempt, however, to maintain the obnoxious Court of Chancery, involved him in violent disputes with the assembly. On the advice of a few patriotic but indiscreet individuals, he adopted the injurious measure of prohibiting all commercial intercourse between New York and Canada. The pretext was, that the French merchants bought up the furs brought to Albany and other markets in the interior. This, if true, must have arisen from the fact that they dealt on more liberal terms than the English; yet the latter were so far from demanding this monopoly, that they exclaimed against it as ruinous to them, making such loud complaints, that in 1720, Burnet was removed, though compensated with the government of Massachusetts.

After a short interval, the direction of affairs was assumed in 1732 by Colonel Cosby, a man of such a violent character as created general aversion to him. Strong interest was excited by the trial of Zenger, editor of a journal which had attacked his administration; but through the exertions of Hamilton, an eminent advocate, he was triumphantly acquitted. Cosby died in 1736, and was followed by Clarke, who, having given scarcely more satisfaction, yielded the place in 1741 to Clinton, who ruled upwards of ten years with considerable success and popularity. His successor, Sir Danvers Osborne, suffered severely by the discovery, in 1754, of very arbitrary instructions transmitted to him from home. A great ferment was thus kindled, but gradually subsided; and we shall find New York by no means forward in the cause of independence.

NEW JERSEY, being a branch detached from the state just named, will be considered most advantageously in connexion with that colony. When Nichols, in 1664, made the conquest of the united territory, the tract along the seacoast, from the west end of Long Island to the Delaware, appeared to him the most favourable for settlement. He invited thither farmers from New England, who already displayed a migratory and enterprising character, and, going in considerable numbers, formed along the shore a range of villages. While Nichols, however, was exulting in the success of these efforts, he was struck with dismay by a commission being presented to him, in which the Duke of York constituted Lords Berkeley and Carteret proprietors of this whole line of coast. It had been granted even before the news of the conquest arrived, and it may be presumed that a pecuniary consideration was given, though nothing transpired on that subject. Chagrined beyond measure, he addressed to the duke a long letter, complaining that he had unguardedly parted with the most valuable portion of his patent, leaving New York almost without a territory. Not choosing to accuse the proprietors of having deceived his grace, he throws the blame on a Captain Scot, who he declared was born to work mischief. The guarantees, it is urged, should be made to accept a tract of one hundred thousand acres on the Delaware, which, by an expenditure of £20,000, might yield profit, not to themselves, perhaps, but to their children's children. The duke, however, honourably determined to adhere to his engagement.

The proprietors, in order to invite settlers, granted franchises of some importance. One was an assembly, half at least of the members of which were to be representatives, and without whose consent no tax could be imposed. The owners reserved to themselves the veto and judicial appointments; but they permitted full freedom of religious worship. Carteret went out as governor, and in compliment to him the colony was called New Jersey. The profit of the proprietors was to arise solely from a quit-rent of 1*d.* an acre, to be levied only at the end of five years. All went

on smoothly till that term arrived, when the settlers, being called upon for payment, showed very little disposition to comply. They urged, that they had purchased their lands from the Indians, and it was extremely hard, after advancing a price, to be required to give a rent also. Discontents rose so high, that Carteret was obliged to leave the colony, and a natural son of his own was elected in his room. Soon afterwards, the country was conquered by the Dutch; and on its restoration next year, the people peaceably received back their old governor, who gratified them by postponing to a later period the demand for quit-rents, and by other concessions. The proprietors, however, were considerably annoyed by the rulers of New York, who, claiming rights of jurisdiction and taxation, particularly sought to prevent any trade, unless through the medium of their capital. James does not seem to have been disposed to sanction any actual breach of the original contract; and Jones, the chief justice, reported on the most essential points, in favour of the settlers. The local power, however, of the greater colony, wielded by the impetuous Andros, was successfully exerted to harass them in various modes.

Meantime, as late as 1674, Lord Berkeley, disappointed in the hopes with which he had embarked in the undertaking, sold half his territory for 1000*l.* to a party of Quakers, among whom the chief were Byllinge, Fenwick, and William Penn. In arranging with Carteret, who still retained his share, it was found most convenient to divide the province into two parts; these were called East and West Jersey,—the latter being assigned to the new owners. But the duke, whose concurrence was required to the transaction, took the opportunity of reasserting his dominion over that portion, which was subjected to the arbitrary rule and taxation of New York. Jones, however, decided that, there having been no reservation of such claims in the original grant, they could not be now legally enforced. Hence, in 1680, the province was delivered in full right to the proprietors, whose object was to render the place an asylum for the persecuted Quakers, a considerable number of whom were soon assembled.

It became necessary to gratify them by a constitution, based on principles of liberty, and even of equality ; and they made pretensions to the election of their own governor.

In 1682, Carteret, finding little satisfaction in his possession of New Jersey, sold all his rights to another body of twelve Quakers, Penn being again one. The new owners, with a view to extend their influence, added to their number twelve more of different professions,—the principal of whom was the Duke of Perth, a nobleman of great power in Scotland. His object was to offer an asylum to the Presbyterians of that country, under the iniquitous persecution to which they were exposed. Hunted like wild beasts from place to place, it was justly thought that many would gladly accept a home in the New World. A considerable number were accordingly conveyed thither, and they formed a laborious, useful, and respectable class of settlers.

Nothing, however, could secure them against the determination formed by James to subvert the rights of all the colonies, and establish in them a completely despotic administration. Andros, without any express authority, began to exercise both jurisdiction and taxation ; and as these were strenuously resisted,—the juries refusing to convict under them,—complaints were sent home of their insubordination. The duke hereupon, forgetting all his former pledges, ordered, in April, 1686, that writs of *quo warranto* should be entered against both East and West Jersey, “ which ought to be more dependent on his majesty.” The proprietors, having in vain attempted to deprecate this measure, at length deemed it expedient to surrender their patent, only soliciting a grant securing their title to the soil ; but, before the transaction could be completed, it was interrupted by the Revolution, which left them so feeble, however, that the country is represented as remaining nearly in a state of anarchy till 1702, when they were induced to surrender all their political powers to the crown. The two Jerseys were then reunited, and were governed from that time as a royal colony.

CHAPTER IX.

CAROLINA AND GEORGIA.



HILE emigration proceeded so actively in various parts of North America, the regions south of Virginia, though of vast extent, and presenting many natural advantages, had attracted little attention. The Spaniards, as long as they

could, jealously guarded this coast; and the bloody catastrophe of the first French settlement was long remembered with terror. Raleigh's original establishment had been formed within this range; and its tragical results, though not connected with the situation, threw a gloom over all the recollections associated with it. Yet flattering rumours were still spread; and as the older settlements became crowded, detachments began to overflow into this unoccupied tract. The river Nansemond, on the immediate border of Virginia, had been very early settled; and colonists thence found their way to the banks of the Chowan, and the shores of Albemarle Sound. Much farther to the south, a body of enterprising New Englanders had purchased from the Indians a district around Cape Fear. Sir Robert Heath, in 1630, obtained a patent; but having been unable to fulfil the conditions, it was declared forfeited.

The reign of Charles II. was a period of large grants; for, having many claims upon him while he had little to give, he was ready to bestow colonial rights. On the 24th March, 1663, the whole coast, from the 36th degree of latitude to the river San Matheo, was granted under the name of Carolina to a body of highly distinguished personages, among whom were Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Clarendon, Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Berkeley, and his brother Sir William, Governor of Virginia. Their privileges were as usual extensive,



Lord Clarendon.

and seem to have been in a great measure copied from those granted in the case of Maryland. The present occupants could only be considered as squatters ; yet, as men were much wanted, the utmost encouragement was given to them to remain, while others were invited. Political and personal immunities, more ample than were possessed by the neighbouring colonies, or were satisfactory to the views of some of the proprietors, were not withheld. Berkeley, who brought additional emigrants from Virginia to Albemarle Sound, placed them under Drummond, a prudent and popular governor. A party of planters from Barbadoes, induced to remove to this congenial climate, were settled on Cape Fear River, near the New Englanders, and ruled by Sir John Yeamans, one of their own number. A few shipbuilders were also obtained from the Bermudas.

In 1665, the proprietors, still high in favour with Charles, obtained a new patent with much larger privileges. Their

territory was now, without regard to Spanish claims, extended to the Pacific, while they were impowered to create titles and orders of nobility. This appears to have been preparatory to the formation of what was intended to be a monument of human wisdom,—a constitution for the new colony. It was undertaken by Shaftesbury, the ablest statesman of the age, who employed upon it Locke, the illustrious philosopher ; and its object was to transport into the New World the varied ranks and aristocratic establishments of Europe. Two orders of nobility were to be instituted, the higher, of landgraves or earls, the lower, of caciques or barons. The territory was to be divided into counties, each containing four hundred and eighty thousand acres, with one landgrave and two caciques, a number never to be increased or diminished. There were also to be lords of manors, entitled, like the nobles, to hold courts, and exercise judicial functions. Those possessing fifty acres were to be freeholders ; but the tenants held no political franchise, and could never attain any higher rank. All the estates were to sit in one chamber. The proprietaries were always to continue eight in number, to possess the whole judicial power, and have the supreme direction of all the tribunals. One was to take cognisance of ceremonies and pedigrees, of fashions and sports. But it is needless to enter into farther details of a constitution which never did nor could have any practical existence. It must remain a striking proof how unfit the ablest men are to legislate for a society with whose condition and circumstances they are not intimately acquainted.

Nothing could exceed the surprise of the colonists when this elaborate system was transmitted to them, with an urgent call for its immediate adoption. Albemarle, the chief settlement, could scarcely number fourteen hundred *working hands* ; how then was it to furnish its landgraves, its caciques, its barons ? The proprietors, on a representation of this state of affairs, were obliged to own that their magnificent system could not yet be carried into full execution ; but they required its introduction so far as circumstances allowed, and its completion to be kept

constantly in view. Meanwhile, a series of temporary laws were established, until the inhabitants should be ripe for the fundamental constitutions. They had formed, however, a simple code adapted to their circumstances, which they preferred to one by which the popular privileges were materially abridged ; and its abrogation for a merely provisional system would have taken away everything stable and permanent in their political position. As Miller, who acted as administrator and collector of the revenue, had not given them satisfaction, they rose in a body, imprisoned him and most of the council, seized the public funds, appointed magistrates and judges, called a Parliament, and in short took into their hands all the functions of government. Culpepper, the ringleader, came to England to plead their cause, a step which certainly does not seem to indicate consciousness of guilt ; but he was arrested and brought to trial for high treason. Shaftesbury, by his eloquence and popular influence, procured his acquittal, pleading that there had been no regular government in Albemarle, so that these disorders could only be considered as feuds among the several planters.

The proprietors found themselves in an embarrassing situation, unwilling to yield to the colonists and renounce their darling constitutions, yet neither desirous nor very able to reduce them by force. They resolved, therefore, to send out as governor Seth Sothel, one of their own body, who had previously purchased Lord Clarendon's share, and whose territorial rights would, they hoped, command respect. The colonists soon seized his person, and were about to send him to England to answer to the owners for the charges brought against him. Sothel preferred to abide the judgment of the assembly themselves ; a circumstance which, joined to the sentence, seems to indicate that his conduct was **not** extremely atrocious. After finding all the accusations proved, they merely banished him from the colony for a single year, and declared him incapable of ever again holding the office of **governor**. The proprietors, though troubled at these stretches of power, yet, owning the complaints to be just, and

having been themselves wronged, sanctioned the proceedings, and nominated Philip Ludwell as their representative.

Meantime, they were bestowing a more special attention on the southern colony. In 1670, they sent out a considerable number of settlers under William Sayle, who was named governor. He died soon after, and his place was supplied by Sir John Yeamans, once a Barbadoes planter, who had acquired a good reputation in his command at Cape Fear. He was speedily accused, however, of sordid proceedings, in carrying on all the little trade of the colony for his own advantage. Affairs were in many respects unsatisfactory. The proprietors, like other similar bodies, already discovered that the colony, instead of a mine of wealth, was a constant drain; they had expended on it upwards of £18,000, without any return, but, on the contrary, had to encounter new demands. They were therefore not unwilling to remove Yeamans in order to make room for West, a favourite of the settlers. During his residence of eight years, he enjoyed a popularity rare among transatlantic rulers. The colony flourished; for, besides emigrants sent over by the proprietors, a considerable tide flowed in from various quarters. The poor cavaliers, considering it to have been founded upon their own principles, sought it as a place where they might retrieve their fortunes. A number of Dutch in New York, dissatisfied with their transference to British rule, thought, it scarcely appears for what reason, that they would be more at ease in this new settlement; and some of their countrymen from Europe were induced to follow. The revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the persecution of the Protestants by Louis XIV. during his bigoted dotage, drove out a large body of most respectable emigrants. A small party proceeded from Ireland, and another from Scotland under Lord Cardross; but the latter were unfortunate, being nearly all destroyed by the Indians. This influx was considered to afford an inducement for the erection of a city. One was early founded on a high ground, above Ashley River, named Charleston; but afterwards another spot,

called Oyster Point, at the junction of that stream with the Cooper, was considered so much more eligible that the site was changed. The choice was happy ; and it has since become the chief emporium of the southern states.

West was succeeded, in 1682, by Moreton, and the latter, in 1686, by Colleton, a brother of one of the proprietors, and endowed with the rank of landgrave. Under these governors, the spirit of faction, which had in some degree slumbered, broke forth with extreme violence. An obstinate dispute was waged between the three counties of Berkeley, Craven, and Colleton, respecting the number of members that should be sent from each to the assembly : that body also proposed two acts which cannot be applauded, with a view to relieve the scarcity of money. It was the purpose of the one to raise the value of the coin, and of the other to suspend the payment of foreign debts. The first was carried, whence arose a depreciation of the Carolina currency, which afterwards became extreme. The other was rejected by the proprietors with reprobation. This was not well brooked by the assembly, who began to contest the legality of the fundamental constitutions, and to demand their original charter. Discontents ran so high, that the people, in 1687, elected an assembly expressly to resist whatever the governor should propose ; and, in 1690, they passed an act banishing him from the province. Amid this ferment, appeared Seth Sothel, the rejected of North Carolina ; and such was the influence of party, that he found no difficulty in occupying the place of his unpopular predecessor, and in calling a parliament, which sanctioned all his proceedings. The proprietors were beyond measure astonished to hear of such a person setting up against them as a leader supported by the people. They sent out the strictest orders for his immediate recall, appointing in his place Philip Ludwell, with instructions, however, to examine and report as to any real grievances. The chief complaint was found to be against "the fundamental constitutions ;" and as there appeared no serious prospect of carrying into execution that famous code,

it was, in 1693, finally abrogated. Caciques, landgraves, and barons were swept away, and the labours of Shaftesbury and Locke were given to the winds. It may be observed that James II., on his usual despotic principle, had prepared a *quo warranto* against the charter; but the proprietors, opening a treaty for its surrender, on condition of replacing the funds expended on it, spun out the affair till that monarch became no longer an object of dread.

These arrangements did not fully secure tranquillity; and a new source of dissension was afforded by the numerous body of French Protestant refugees. Most of the original settlers, zealously attached to the church of England, viewed with aversion both their religious and national peculiarities, and refused to admit them to the rights of citizenship. At this treatment they were justly indignant; and disputes rose so high, that the proprietors sent out one of their own body, John Archdale, a Quaker, with full power to investigate and redress grievances. He conducted himself with great prudence, and, though he could not procure for the new-comers all the desired privileges, succeeded in greatly allaying their discontent. After remaining a year, he left as his successor Joseph Blake, who steadily pursued the same system, by which, in a few years, the parties were reconciled, and the French admitted to all the rights of citizens.

Blake died in 1700, and was succeeded by Moore, who, two years after, sought to distinguish himself by the capture of the French capital of St. Augustine. He himself, with the main force, proceeded by sea, while Colonel Daniel, with a party of militia and Indians, marched by land. The latter arrived first, and took possession of the town, obliging the enemy to retreat into the castle; but the governor considered that post so strong, as to render it necessary to send to Jamaica for more artillery. On the appearance, however, of two Spanish ships, he was seized with a panic alleged to be groundless, and precipitately raising the siege, returned by land to Carolina. This repulse

was not only very mortifying, but entailed on the colony a heavy debt, which it could ill bear.

In 1706, the Spaniards endeavoured to retaliate, and, aided by their French allies, equipped a considerable armament. Their admiral, Le Feboure, with five ships of war, forthwith summoned the capital; but the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had, with great spirit, though inadequate means, prepared for defence, sent an indignant defiance. The invader, whose main land-force had not yet arrived, imprudently sent on shore a small detachment, which was immediately attacked and cut off. This success inspired such courage, that Captain Rhett, with six small vessels, sailed against the enemy, who, struck with alarm, immediately retired. Soon after, an additional armament appeared, and a body of troops were landed; but the English, flushed with victory, attacked them with such resolution, that both they and their ships were captured.

After some years of repose, the colony was involved in all the horrors of Indian war; the origin of which is difficult to trace, though the settlers throw the whole blame upon the natives. It is manifest that they waged it with deep treachery and ferocity, and yet there seems room to suspect that they had heavy wrongs to avenge. The first burst was from the Tuscaroras, on the frontier of North Carolina, whose attack against the settlements on the Roanoke was made with the usual secrecy and rapidity, and above a hundred perished before measures of defence could be adopted. This was all that could be done till aid was procured from South Carolina, whence Captain Barnwell, with six hundred militia and three hundred and sixty Indians, penetrated the intervening wilderness, defeated the enemy, and, pursuing them to their main fortress, obliged them to surrender. They soon after migrated northwards, and formed a union with the Five Nations.

A more formidable struggle awaited South Carolina. The Indians on its border had long been united with the colonists in alliance and common hostility to the Spaniards. When the

treaty of Utrecht had terminated the European war with the latter people, the natives soon announced that they had dined with the Governor of Florida, and washed his face,—a sure pledge of alliance. The colonists, who did not suspect that the enmity was to be transferred to them, allege that it was fomented by their old enemies; but the charge seems scarcely supported by any overt act. Certain it is, that the Yemassee, Creeks, Cherokees, and all the tribes from Cape Fear to the shores of the gulf, amounting to six thousand men, became united in one grand confederacy to exterminate the English name. Their preparations were enveloped as usual in profound secrecy; and, even on the previous evening, when some suspicious circumstances were noticed, they gave the most friendly explanation. In the morning the work of blood commenced in the vicinity of Port Royal, where about ninety of the planters perished; but the people of the place, happily finding a vessel in the harbour, crowded on board, and were conveyed to Charleston. The Indians collected from all sides, and advanced upon that capital; two detachments, which attempted to stop their progress, were surprised or ensnared, and suffered severely. Craven the governor, however, having mustered twelve hundred men fit to bear arms, succeeded in stopping their progress; upon which, having collected all his strength, and receiving a reinforcement from North Carolina, he marched to the attack of their grand camp. The struggle was long and fierce,—the Indians having stationed themselves in a broken and entangled spot, fitted for their wild manœuvres. At length they were completely defeated, and soon after driven beyond the limits of the colony.

The termination of this contest was immediately followed by violent internal disturbances. The settlers had many grounds of complaint against the proprietors, who had not afforded any pecuniary aid during the late sanguinary contest. At its close the assembly passed acts bestowing the lands whence the Indians had been expelled upon such persons as might choose to occupy them; on the faith of which a party of five hundred emigrated

from Ireland. But the proprietaries; annulling this grant, caused them to be ejected, and the tract divided into baronies for their own benefit. They disallowed other laws, which the colonists were extremely desirous to obtain, and sent orders to the governor to sanction none which had not been previously submitted to themselves. They reposed their entire confidence in Trott, the chief justice, who was even accused of malversation in his office; but the complaints against him from the people, and even the governor, were disdainfully rejected. This discontent, long fermenting, broke out openly on a report of invasion from the Havana. In this emergency the assembly refused to vote any supplies; a bond of union was drawn up, and signed by almost all the inhabitants. They transmitted a proposal to Johnson that he should continue to hold his office in the name of the king; but as he declined the offer, Colonel Moore was elected. The other made some attempts to compel submission, but found his force inadequate. The issue of the whole transaction, however, depended on the view which might be taken by the crown, always disposed to favour any arrangement that might extend its prerogative. The king, being absent in Hanover, had left the government in the hands of a regency, who, on examining the case, decided that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered proceedings to be instituted for its dissolution. Acting certainly with great promptitude, as if this were already effected, they named Sir Francis Nicholson governor, under a commission from his majesty. That person, distinguished in other stations for his active talents, had been accused of arbitrary maxims; but in Carolina he seems to have laid these aside, and rendered himself extremely acceptable. He made great exertions to provide for religious instruction, and for the diffusion of education. Through an alliance with the Creeks and Cherokees, he secured the frontier, which had been considerably harassed by Indian incursions.

In 1729, the transactions of the proprietors were finally closed by a deed surrendering all their rights into the hands of the

crown. They received in return 17,500*l.*, with 5000*l.* for arrears of rent amounting to 9000*l.*; but Lord Carteret, while resigning all political power, preferred to retain his claim to property in the soil, of which an ample portion was assigned to him. The colonists were gratified by the entire remission of their quit-rents. In 1694, the captain of a vessel from Madagascar, having touched at Carolina, had presented the governor with a bag of rice, which being distributed among several farmers, thrived so remarkably, that it had already become a staple of the settlement; and the privilege was now granted of exporting this article direct to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre. North and South Carolina, too, which in point of fact had always been distinct, and their occupied parts even distant from each other, were now finally declared to be two colonies, each to have its separate governor.

From this era their affairs held a pretty uniform course, diversified only as the character of the successive governors was popular or otherwise. They continued to draw numerous bodies of emigrants; and their career, both of agriculture and commerce, was extremely prosperous. This, it is painful to add, was in a great measure effected by large importations of negro slaves, which enabled the wealthy to cultivate plantations on an extensive scale, and without personal labour. It appears also that reproach was incurred by the harshness with which these captives were treated; and serious alarms of insurrection were entertained. To guard against this danger, they petitioned, in 1742, to be allowed to raise and maintain three independent companies; a boon which, though refused at first, was finally granted. These colonies derived a considerable accession from the rebellion of 1745, at the close of which many adherents of the vanquished cause were allowed to seek shelter in the western plantations, and induced by various circumstances to prefer the Carolinas. The discovery of indigo, as a native production, afforded, in addition to rice, another article for which a sure demand would be found in Europe. About the middle of the eighteenth century, too,

when the other colonies began to have at least their best lands appropriated, this, which was still comparatively unoccupied, drew settlers from them, especially from Pennsylvania. Although estates along the coast were become scarce, valuable tracts remained in the interior, to which these American emigrants were pleased to resort.

After all that had been done before 1732, for the peopling of Carolina, there remained a large district between the Savannah and the Alatamaha, claimed by Britain, yet completely uninhabited. This disadvantage was more felt from its being bordered, not only by powerful Indian tribes, but by the Spaniards in Florida and the French in Louisiana; both having claims which, if circumstances favoured, they could plausibly advance. The planters were particularly anxious to have a settlement formed, that might stand like a wall between them and these troublesome neighbours, but were much at a loss for persons who would voluntarily station themselves in a situation so unpleasant. Circumstances arose in England which afforded a prospect of supplying this want.

General Oglethorpe, a soldier, brave, honourable, and humane, moved an inquiry, in 1728, into the treatment and condition of persons confined in the prisons of England, and in the following year presented a report upon this subject. It was found that, under the extremely bad management then prevalent, many persons imprisoned for debt or minor offences were treated most tyrannically, deprived of common comforts, and their morals farther injured by the associates with whom they were compelled to mingle. Many of them, even if liberated, could not have returned to the world with any prospect of comfort or advantage; and hence it occurred that to them a residence in the new continent might form an extremely desirable change. They could not be fastidious as to the situation, and might there be formed into military colonies, as a barrier to the other states. The conversion and improvement of the Indians entered into this gene-



General Oglethorpe.

rous plan. It was intrusted to a body of eminent persons, who undertook to act as trustees, not entering, like former associations, into a mercantile speculation for profit, but from philanthropic motives devoting their time and contributions to the object. They were to administer the colony during twenty-one years, after which it was to revert to the crown. It was named Georgia, from the reigning monarch; and Oglethorpe, with whom the whole scheme had originated, undertook to act gratuitously as governor. A general enthusiasm prevailed throughout the nation; large sums were subscribed by benevolent individuals; and Parliament, in the course of two years, voted 36,000*l.* for the purpose.

In the end of 1732, Oglethorpe, with a party of a hundred and sixteen, sailed for the new settlement. Having touched on their way to South Carolina, his followers were most hospitably

received ; and on their arrival, he made it his first object to conciliate the neighbouring Indians, belonging to the powerful race of the Creeks. His efforts, guided by sincerity and discretion, were crowned with success. He prevailed upon Tomochichi, the head of this savage confederacy, to meet him at Savannah, accompanied by fifty other petty chiefs, called kings. This aged person, expressing his ideas as usual by outward symbols, presented to the governor the skin of a buffalo, on the inside of which the head and feathers of an eagle were painted. This indicated the swiftness and power of the English, and also, by its softness and warmth, the love and protection which the Indians expected from them. This chief was even induced to visit Britain, where he met with many attentions, and had an audience of George II., whom he presented with a bunch of eagles' feathers, saying, "These are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great kīng, as a token of everlasting peace. O great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nation." In 1734, the town of Augusta was founded on the Upper Savannah, with a view to local trade. During the same year, two successive parties went out, amounting to five or six hundred, of whom one hundred defrayed their own expenses. About one hundred and fifty Highlanders were induced to join the colony, being well fitted for its military objects. A party of Moravians also arrived, whose industrious habits were likely to be of great advantage ; and by a report of the trustees in 1740, it appeared that twenty-five hundred emigrants had been sent out, at an expense of 80,000*l*. John and Charles Wesley, then only known as zealous clergymen, were prevailed upon to accept livings in the colony.

Notwithstanding these promising appearances, and this most zealous support, Georgia did not prosper. The proprietors began with a series of regulations, well meant indeed, but carried to an

extreme, and with little attention to existing circumstances. A complete prohibition was imposed on the introduction of rum, and even on all commercial intercourse with the West Indies. The importation of negroes was forbidden ; a laudable measure, but indignantly endured by the colonists, who saw much wealth accruing to Carolina from their employment. The lands were most injudiciously granted in small lots of twenty-five acres, on condition of military service, and with that view descending only to heirs-male. The settlers soon began to display those faults which, from their previous condition, might have been anticipated. Complaints were made against the Wesleys for their extreme rigidity, their peculiar forms of worship, and for giving their confidence to unworthy persons, who made false pretences of piety. Feuds rose so high, that both left the colony. Whitefield, founder of the rival sect of Methodists, went out in 1740, with a particular view to establish an orphan asylum, which did not succeed ; but his zealous and eloquent though somewhat rude addresses produced a strong impression, and were supposed to effect considerable good.

Affairs were rendered still farther critical by the Spanish war, which, after long irritation and petty aggression, broke out in 1738. Oglethorpe determined to attack St. Augustine, the capital of Florida. Great preparations were made for this enterprise ; Virginia and the Carolinas furnished a regiment, as well as 120,000*l.* currency ; and an Indian force undertook to assist. The governor, who was thus enabled to make an invasion with two thousand men, reduced two forts successively ; but the castle of St. Augustine itself was found too strongly fortified to allow a reasonable hope of reducing it, unless by blockade. This he expected to accomplish by the aid of a strong flotilla, which came to co-operate with him. It proved, however, a very discouraging service for his undisciplined warriors ; and the Indians, disgusted by an expression of horror at their cruelty which escaped him, went off. The High-

landers, his best troops, were surprised, and a number cut to pieces; while the militia lost courage, broke the restraints of discipline, and deserted in great numbers. It proved impossible to prevent the enemy from procuring a reinforcement and large supply of provisions. In short, matters were in so adverse a state, that he had no alternative but to raise the siege, and return with his armament seriously shattered, and his reputation impaired.

The Spaniards, two years after, in 1742, attempted to retaliate, and Monteano, governor of St. Augustine, with thirty-two vessels and three thousand men, advanced to attack Frederica. Oglethorpe's force was very inadequate, and the aid from the north both scanty and very slow in arriving; yet he acted so as completely to redeem his military character. By skilfully using all the advantages of his situation, he kept the enemy at bay; then by various stratagems conveyed such an exaggerated idea both of his actual force and expected reinforcements, that they ultimately abandoned the enterprise, without having made one serious attack.

✓ Georgia was thus delivered from foreign dangers; but she continued to suffer under her internal evils. The colonists complained that absurd regulations debarred them from rendering their productions available, and kept them in poverty. Numbers removed to South Carolina, where they were free from restraint; and the Moravians, being called upon to take arms contrary to their principles, departed for Pennsylvania. Great efforts were made, as formerly in Virginia, to produce silk, but, for the same reasons without any success. In 1752, the twenty-one years had expired; and the trustees, finding that their well-meant endeavours had produced only misery and discontent, relinquished the charge. Georgia became a royal colony, and the people were left at full liberty to use all the means, good and bad, of advancing themselves; lands were held on any tenure that best pleased them; negroes and rum were imported without

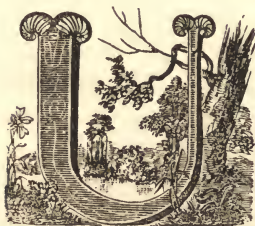
restriction; and a free intercourse was opened with the West Indies. Thenceforth it was on a footing with South Carolina, and advanced with equally rapid steps, but exhibiting a somewhat ruder character.



Savannah in 1778.

CHAPTER X.

GENERAL AFFAIRS OF THE COLONIES TO THE PEACE IN 1764.



UNTIL the close of the war in 1763, the colonies, of which we have thus delineated the origin and progress, were altogether unconnected. Each had been founded on a separate basis, by distinct and even hostile classes. Between neighbouring communities, where no sentiment of unity reigns, jealousies almost inevitably arise; and these were aggravated by boundary disputes and other contending claims. Some governors, particularly Nicholson, recommended the union of several of them under one head; but these were men of arbitrary temper, who urged this measure on the home administration as a mode of extending the power of the crown, and keeping down the increasing spirit of independence. Such communications, when they transpired, heightened not a little the antipathy already felt to the proposed measure.

There was, however, one object by which all the colonies were roused to a most zealous co-operation. It might have seemed a hardship that the successive wars between Britain and France should be transferred to their rising settlements beyond the Atlantic; but the inhabitants by no means felt it as such, and required only permission, in order to rush with fury against each other. The old national antipathy was remarkably strong in this ruder society; the difference of creed made the contests be viewed somewhat as religious wars; and the contrast between an absolute and a free government appeared peculiarly striking on the English side, where maxims almost republican prevailed. At first the colonies followed in the footsteps of the mother-country; but as their magnitude and importance in-

creased, the flame arose among themselves, and was thence communicated to Europe.

Even so early as 1629, Sir David Kirk, having equipped a fleet, surprised and took Quebec; but that infant settlement, to which little value was then attached, was restored at the peace in 1632. A severe collision, however, arose in consequence of the support afforded by the English from New York to the Five Nations, in the long and terrible war waged by them against the French in Canada. It was mostly carried on by skirmishes, in a covert manner, and without regular sanction from either power. But after the Revolution of 1688, open hostilities ensued between the two nations, and Britain again determined to strike a blow against the enemy's power beyond the Atlantic. Acadia was subdued with little resistance, and Sir William Phipps, with thirty-four vessels and a large body of troops, reached Quebec. He did not, however, display the requisite promptitude; and through the able defence made by Count Frontignac, was obliged to re-embark without effecting his object. An attempt against Montreal was also defeated by the ability of Des Callières. The contest was suspended by the peace of 1697, when, to the great discontent of the inhabitants, Acadia was restored to France. During the war of the Spanish succession, two expeditions, the one in 1704, and the other in 1707, failed in achieving the conquest of that province; but General Nicholson, in September, 1710, finally annexed it, under the title of Nova Scotia, to the British crown. He proceeded afterwards to make a grand effort against the Canadian capital, which was frustrated by the shipwreck of his squadron near the Seven Islands. Still the force of England was considered so superior, that she must ultimately have triumphed, had not the contest been terminated in 1713 by the peace of Utrecht. France retained Canada, but was obliged to cede Acadia and Newfoundland; also to make over to Britain her claims to the sovereignty of the Five Nations.

A long peace now followed, and though jealousies continued,



Wreck of the Fleet.

no open hostilities ensued till 1744, when the war, which Britain had for several years waged with Spain, was extended to France. The latter power, though deprived of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, had retained Cape Breton, and erected upon it Louisburg, which, by an expenditure of 1,200,000*l.*, was supposed to have been rendered one of the strongest of modern fortresses. The New England colonies, however, having, with characteristic ardour, determined to attack it, raised four thousand men, and placed them under the command of Colonel Pepperel, who, on the 30th April, 1745, took the enemy somewhat by surprise. Being seconded by the fleet under Admiral Warren, he in seven weeks reduced this grand bulwark of their power in America; and though they made several vigorous efforts, they did not succeed in retrieving this disaster. Nevertheless, at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the colonists had the mortification to

see the fruits of their valour snatched from them, Cape Breton being restored in exchange for some continental advantages, which were more highly prized by the British king and ministry. They expressed the deepest discontent, and hesitated not even to charge the government at home with a desire to maintain the power of Louis, in order to check the spirit of internal independence.

The French, meantime, had become inspired with an eager desire to extend their North American possessions. Having at various points been brought into contact with the back settlements of their rival, they had been generally successful in gaining the alliance of the Indians, from whose warlike character important aid was expected. They made the most active movements in New Brunswick, hoping thence to penetrate into Nova Scotia, where they would find a population originally French, and still strongly attached to the country of their fathers. But the enterprises which caused the greatest inquietude took place along the Ohio and the Mississippi. The colonists had already, at different points, penetrated the barrier of the Alleghany, and begun to discover the value of the country extending to those mighty streams. The enemy, on the other hand, in virtue of certain voyages made in the preceding century by Marquette and La Salle, claimed the whole range of the Mississippi, by attaining which, their settlements in Canada and New Orleans would be formed into one continuous territory. This pretension, if referred to that peculiar law according to which Europeans have divided America among themselves, seems not wholly unfounded. They had added, however, a more exorbitant claim to all the streams falling into the great river, which would have carried them to the very summit of the Alleghany, and have hemmed in the British colonists in a manner to which they were by no means disposed to submit. The banks of the Ohio became the debateable ground on which this collision mainly took place.

The British were so confident of their right, that in 1749, an association of merchants was formed in London, combined with

Virginian planters, called the Ohio Company, who received from the crown a grant of six hundred thousand acres on that river. Similar donations were made to other parties, who could not with any degree of safety turn them to account, in the face of such pretensions as the French advanced and showed a determination to support. These assumed so menacing a character, that Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, under instructions from home, judged it necessary to send a commissioner to examine the state of affairs on that frontier, to confer with the French commander, and urge him to desist from farther encroachment. This little expedition is memorable from the command being intrusted to Major George Washington, a youth of twenty-one, whose steady and intelligent character already pointed him out for this delicate employment. He departed on the 31st October, 1753, and after many difficulties in travelling five hundred and sixty miles across a rugged part of the Alleghany, arrived at the station of M. de St. Pierre. He was received with all the national courtesy and urbanity; but after two days an answer was returned, couched in respectful yet determined language. The commandant described himself as only a military man, who could decide nothing on such an application, which ought to be addressed to the Marquis Du Quesne, governor of Canada, under whom he acted, and whose orders he was bound to obey. Moreover, the inferior officers at a frontier post, after an evening entertainment given to the major, becoming heated with wine, announced, even with an oath, their absolute intention to take possession of the Ohio. Washington had observed on his way the position at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, termed the two forks of that river, and strongly recommended that it should be fortified. He held communication with a number of Indians, who expressed a friendly disposition to his countrymen, and a jealousy of the manner in which they saw the French occupying their country. But others had been gained over by that nation, a party of whom made a fruitless attempt to intercept his return.

The intelligence obtained on this occasion convinced the



Washington and M. St. Pierre.

governor that nothing but force would enable Britain to maintain her jurisdiction over this territory. His object was now to raise an adequate body of troops; but the assembly of Virginia showed no disposition to come forward, and were with great difficulty induced to vote 10,000*l*. Carolina contributed 12,000*l*. Only three companies, however, mustered under Washington, now colonel, who soon received the alarming intelligence, that a party under Captain Trent, employed by the Ohio Company in erecting a fort on the river, had been obliged to capitulate, obtaining only liberty to retire. The French had also anticipated their rivals by commencing a fort at the junction of the Ohio Forks, which they named Du Quesne, after their governor-general.

Washington now urgently called on the different states to contribute to the common defence, pointing out the necessity

of strong reinforcements ; and, meantime, his enterprising spirit impelled him to push forward, even with his small numbers, hoping at least to pave the way for a larger force. On approaching, he was informed that a French detachment of fifty men were marching towards him with apparently hostile intentions, who soon afterwards encamped at a small distance. Advancing with some chosen troops and a party of Indians, he attacked them by surprise, and speedily defeated them. Jumonville, the commander, and ten of his men, were killed, while twenty-two were wounded. A loud clamour was raised on this occasion by the French, who declared that their officer was merely the bearer of a summons, and that his death was an act of positive assassination. Washington never deigned to reply to this charge ; but his friends have observed, that the great numbers of the French, and their mode of approaching, did not at all accord with the representation of their being political envoys, but, coupled with the previous violence, gave every ground to believe that they intended to make good their pretensions by force.

Three additional companies had been placed under Colonel Fry, who was advancing to take the command, but died suddenly on the way. They were then forwarded to Washington, whose force they did not augment to more than four hundred. But even with this small body he advanced upon Fort Du Quesne, when intelligence arrived that an army of eighteen hundred French and four hundred Indians were preparing to attack him. He had now no choice but to fall back to a spot called the Great Meadows, where he began to erect a fort named, from the circumstances, Necessity. The ditch, however, was not completed, when, on the 3d July, M. de Villiers arrived with nearly one thousand men, and commenced an attack which continued from eleven in the morning till eight in the evening, without any decisive result. The French commander then sent proposals for a capitulation : they were rejected ; but during the night terms were agreed upon, which, under the try-

ing circumstances of the besieged, were considered honourable. The British were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, retaining their baggage, and everything except their artillery; being also assured of a safe retreat into the low country. The conduct of the campaign was on the whole highly approved, and a vote of thanks passed by the House of Burgesses to Colonel Washington and his officers.

By this time the colonists began seriously to feel the absence of some general co-operation against this formidable enemy. Those who stood most immediately exposed to attack, complained that upon them alone was thrown the whole burden of repelling it; and the government at home were at length induced to recommend a convention of delegates being held at Albany, to concert with each other, and with the chiefs of the Six Nations, a plan of united defence. The New England states, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York, complied with the advice, and appointed deputies, who assembled in June, 1754; when the lead was taken by Benjamin Franklin, who ranked already as one of the most intelligent and distinguished citizens of America. Rising from an humble station, he had acquired a paramount influence in his own state of Pennsylvania, and been appointed postmaster-general for the colonies. He soon submitted to his colleagues a very bold and important project. A general government, consisting of a president appointed by the crown, and of a council of representatives from the respective colonies, were to be invested with the general direction of war, peace, treaties, and transactions with the Indians. They were to have the power of imposing such taxes as might be deemed necessary for these purposes; and their acts, if not disallowed by the king within three years, were to acquire the force of law. They might also levy troops, the commanding officer being appointed by the president, subject to the approbation of the council. For this scheme Franklin gained the approbation of all the delegates, except those from Connecticut; but when submitted to the respective governments, it met a very different



Benjamin Franklin.

fate. They all considered these powers, especially that of taxation, as far too great to be placed in the hands of a body over whom each had so little control. Its reception was equally unfavourable in the British cabinet, who viewed it, not without reason, as an arrangement rendering America almost entirely independent. Thus the plan, recommended as it was by such high authority, proved wholly abortive; though perhaps it had some small influence in paving the way for a similar union, which future emergencies induced the colonies to form.

The British ministry were, however, determined to support their cause with the utmost vigour. Warm remonstrances were made to the court of France, which lavished in return pacific

professions and even promises; but they were directly contradicted by actions, which left no doubt of a firm determination to maintain her lofty pretensions. It was resolved, therefore, to employ force in driving the French from their present advanced position; and in the beginning of 1755, General Braddock, with two regiments, was despatched from Ireland to co-operate with the Virginian forces in obtaining the command of the Ohio. His arrival excited enthusiastic hopes, and at Alexandria he met the governors of five colonies assembled to concert the general plan of a campaign. Washington had quitted the army on account of a regulation by which the colonial officers were made to rank under those of the regular army; but, at the solicitation of Braddock, he consented to act as his aide-de-camp, in the character of a volunteer. Yet their movements were almost arrested by the failure of the Virginian contractors to furnish the wagons necessary for transporting the baggage and artillery. In this emergency, Franklin, by great exertions, and by influence with the farmers of Pennsylvania, succeeded in procuring these supplies; but before they could be transported across the rugged Alleghany, a long time would necessarily elapse, during which the enemy might strengthen Du Quesne and reinforce the garrison. At the earnest entreaty of Washington, it was therefore determined to press forward with twelve hundred well-appointed men, and that Colonel Dunbar, with the heavy artillery and baggage, should remain behind. Washington, however, was dismayed to find that Braddock, though a brave and experienced officer, was wedded to the forms of regular European warfare. Instead of causing his troops to push briskly across the intervening obstacles, he employed them in levelling every hillock, and throwing bridges over every brook. Again, though advised to accept the offered aid of some Indians, at least for scouring the woods and guarding against surprise, he despised such auxiliaries, and treated them so coldly that they quickly dropped off. Washington, being unfortunately seized with a violent illness, was unable by his utmost efforts to keep up with the army, but rejoined

it on the evening of the 8th July, within fifteen miles of Fort Du Quesne, against which this laborious movement was directed. The garrison was understood to be small, and quite inadequate to resist the great force now brought to bear upon it; exulting hope filled every heart; and no one doubted to see the British flag waving next day over the battlements, and the enemy rooted out from all Western America. The march next morning is described as a splendid spectacle; being made in full military array, with a majestic river on one hand, and deep woods on the other. Not an enemy appeared, and the most profound silence reigned over this wild territory. They proceeded, forded the stream, and were passing a rough tract covered with wood, which led direct to the fort, when suddenly a destructive fire was poured in upon the front, while another rapidly followed on the right flank. The assault was continued by an enemy who remained invisible, closely hidden behind trees and ravines. The vanguard fell back in a confusion which soon became general. Their only hope would now have been to quit their ranks, rush behind the bushes, and fight man to man with their assailants; but Braddock insisted on forming them into platoons and columns, in order to make regular discharges, which struck only the trees. After some time spent in these fruitless efforts, with the hidden fire still unabated, a general flight ensued, that of the regulars being the most precipitate and shameful, while the only stand was made by the Virginian militia. The officers in general remained on the field while there seemed any hope of rallying their troops, and, consequently, out of eighty-six engaged, sixty-three were killed or wounded; the commander himself mortally. Of the privates, seven hundred and fourteen fell; the rout was complete, and the more disgraceful, in that it was before an inferior enemy, whose number did not exceed eight hundred and fifty, of whom only two hundred and fifty were Europeans. During this disastrous day, Washington displayed an admirable courage and coolness. After the fall of so many officers, he alone remained to convey orders, and was seen galloping in every

direction across the field, amid the thickest fire ; yet, by a dispensation which seemed providential, though four balls passed through his clothes, and two horses were killed under him, he escaped unhurt ; and, very contrary to his wish, this melancholy disaster greatly elevated his reputation. The remnant of the army retreated precipitately into the low country, whither the French considered themselves too weak to pursue them.

Meantime, a militia force of about five thousand men was assembled at Albany, for an expedition against the important fortress of Crown Point, on the borders of Canada. The commander was William Johnson, an Irishman, who had risen from the ranks, and whose uncommon bodily strength, with a rude energy of character, had enabled him to acquire a greater influence over the Indian tribes than any other British officer. Having reached the southern extremity of Lake George, and learned that the enemy were erecting an additional fort at Ticonderoga, he resolved to push forward, hoping to reduce it before the works were completed. Intelligence, however, was soon received, which obliged him to stand on the defensive. Baron Dieskau, an able commander, had carried out from France a large reinforcement, and having added to them a considerable body of Indians, was advancing to attack the British settlements. He at first proceeded towards Oswego, but on learning the advance of Johnson, hastened to direct his operations against him. The latter had fortified his camp, but, through defective information, sent forward an advanced party of one thousand men, who at the distance of about three miles unexpectedly met the enemy, and were driven back with great loss. Dieskau then marched forward to assault the main camp, which he seemed to have a fair prospect of carrying ; but Johnson received him with the utmost firmness, and, opening a brisk fire, caused the Indians and militia to fall back. The French regulars maintained the contest several hours with great vigour, and the British general was even obliged by a severe wound to leave the command to Lyman, his second. The final result, however, was, that the

assailants were completely repulsed, with the loss of nearly one thousand men. Dieskau himself was mortally wounded and made prisoner ; and his retreating forces, being suddenly assailed by a small detachment from New York, abandoned their baggage, and took to flight. It was thought by many, that if Johnson had followed up his victory by an attack on Crown Point, or at least on Ticonderoga, he would have succeeded ; but he did not choose to hazard the laurels already gained.

It may be mentioned also that in this busy campaign, Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, led an expedition against Niagara ; but the difficulties of the march, and the discouragement spread by the tidings of Braddock's defeat, prevented his engaging in any undertaking. It would seem, indeed, that the British forces were scattered in too many quarters, instead of concentrating themselves in one united effort against some important position or commanding stronghold.

The war which had thus for some time been covertly waged between the two nations, was, in 1756, openly declared ; and increased exertions were made on both sides. In a council of governors held at New York, three expeditions were planned, in which twenty-one thousand men were to be employed. Abercrombie and Lord Loudon, however, who successively went out as commanders-in-chief, did not possess the requisite energy ; and discontents arose among the provincial officers, from being compelled to take rank under the regulars. The French force, meantime, was united under Montcalm, an officer of high spirit ; and while the British were deliberating, he hastened against the two forts at Oswego, which, as they protected Lake Ontario, formed their principal bulwark in that quarter. On the 10th of August he began the siege of the first, which was soon evacuated by its defenders, owing to the failure of their ammunition ; and he then assailed the other with such vigour, that it surrendered on the 14th, Colonel Mercer, the commander, having been killed in the attack. The garrison, amounting to fourteen hundred, became prisoners of war, while one hundred and twenty-one



Massacre at Fort William Henry.

pieces of cannon, with a quantity of stores, sloops, and boats, fell into his hands. In the following year, he marched against Fort William Henry, on Lake George, commenced the siege in the beginning of August, and compelled it, in six days, to surrender. The defenders stipulated to march out with the honours of war, and rejoin their countrymen; but these terms were completely violated by the Indians, who barbarously massacred a great number of them. Montcalm's friends have studiously defended him against any charge, even of neglect, on this dreadful occasion; but blame was attached, at the time, both to him and his officers, and there was accordingly kindled throughout the colonies a deep thirst for vengeance.

Hitherto, this war had been an almost continued series of disaster and disgrace; and in Europe similar results were seen to follow the feeble measures of the cabinet. But the spirit of the nation, being now roused, forced into power William Pitt, perhaps the most energetic war-minister who has ever swayed the British councils. Adverse to military operations in Germany, he turned his main attention to the North American colonies, and



William Pitt.

by vigorously announcing his resolution, drew forth from themselves strenuous exertions. Lord Loudon was superseded by Amherst, a more able commander ; while the most active part was assigned to Wolfe, a young officer, in whom the discerning eye of Pitt discovered a rising military genius. It being determined to strike the first blow against Louisburg, considered the centre of French power in that quarter, an expedition sailed against it in May, 1758, and by the end of July, chiefly through his exertions, it was compelled to surrender. This success was followed up next year by a more formidable attempt, under the same commander, against Québec, capital of New France. On the 13th September, 1759, a splendid victory, dearly purchased



Death of General Wolfe.

indeed by the death of that gallant officer, placed the city in the undisputed possession of Britain.

After this triumph, France could with difficulty maintain her posts in the interior. In 1758, General Abercrombie, with sixteen thousand regulars and provincials, marched against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The first skirmish was marked by the fall of Lord Howe, a young officer of high promise, and much beloved in America. The commander, having soon after made a premature assault on the last-mentioned fort, was repulsed with considerable loss, when he raised the siege and precipi-

tately retreated. Colonel Bradstreet, however, at the head of a detachment, captured Fort Frontignac, a post of some consequence on Lake Ontario.

Meantime the Virginians, notwithstanding their most earnest wishes, had in vain attempted to renew the expedition against Fort Du Quesne; having placed under the command of Washington a force barely sufficient to check the incursions of the French and Indians. In 1758, however, under the auspices of Pitt, General Forbes arrived with a body of troops, which the provincials soon raised to six thousand; but, contrary to the urgent advice of the American, instead of pushing on by a track already formed, he undertook to cut a new one through forests almost impracticable. He accordingly failed to reach the scene of action till November, when the season was too late for active operations, and the provisions were nearly exhausted. A party under Major Grant, having rashly advanced, were defeated with great loss. The situation of the army appeared very serious, when news arrived that the garrison, reduced to five hundred, and discouraged probably by the fall of Louisburg and the dangers menacing Canada, had set fire to the fort, and retreated in boats down the river. The Indians, who had already abandoned their cause, readily entered into terms with the British, and tranquillity was established along the whole line of the back settlements.

In 1759, General Amherst, co-operating with Wolfe, marched against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which were evacuated on his approach. Prideaux, meantime, with a strong detachment, advanced and laid siege to Niagara. He was accidentally killed; but Sir William Johnson, his successor, pushing operations with increased vigour, completely defeated a large force which had been collected against him, and finally obliged the garrison to surrender prisoners of war. Amherst could not open a communication with Quebec, which was in great danger of being retaken during the winter; but it was saved by the good conduct of General Murray. Next summer, that officer

from Quebec, and General Amherst from Niagara, made a combined march upon Montreal, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil still attempted to maintain; but he was obliged, on the 8th September, 1760, to sign a capitulation for the city as well as for the whole of Canada. By the peace of Paris, France ceded it and all the adjacent countries. Spain was also obliged to yield Florida; and Britain acquired a vast, compact, and flourishing empire, reaching from the arctic zone to the Gulf of Mexico.

It would have been satisfactory, could we have added a particular view of the progress made during this period by the colonies, in population, industry, and wealth. Their advance was certainly most rapid; yet the details are scanty, and in many cases doubtful. They were favoured by a combination of circumstances almost unprecedented. An industrious race, skilled in agriculture, were transported to a country where land to any extent could be easily obtained. The abundance of the necessaries of life thus produced, removed all check to marriage and the rearing of children; while the same circumstances invited a continual influx of emigrants from Europe. Hence arose a rapid increase of population, of which the modern world at least had never seen any example; doubling, it was supposed, in twenty-five or even twenty years. Of this a satisfactory proof was obtained from the imposing aspect under which the colonies appeared at successive periods; yet, down to the year 1790, no precise particulars were ever obtained.

The commercial progress of the colonies was very rapid. Their exports consisted almost exclusively of the rude productions of land; a circumstance most grateful to the English people, since it naturally led to the desire to take their commodities in exchange. Their progress in agriculture, by absorbing at once their capital and their labour, prevented them from making any attempt to manufacture goods for themselves; while, by increasing their wealth, it induced them to prefer the fabrics of Britain to the rude home-made stuffs with which they had been

at first contented. There was, however, a difficulty in finding articles, such as the rich products of the West Indies, which would obtain a place in the market of Europe. Silk and wine, the early objects of hope and pride, never succeeded; and though, in 1731, there were exported from Virginia three cwt. of the former, their expectations from this source ultimately proved fallacious. What they vainly sought, however, came upon them from unexpected quarters; and we have seen how tobacco forced itself into the place of a leading export. During the present period Virginia and Maryland became the chief sources whence all Europe was supplied. In 1774 and the two succeeding years, Britain imported 40,000,000 pounds, whereof 30,000,000 were re-exported. Rice also was accidentally introduced in the manner already mentioned; and so congenial was the swampy soil of Carolina to its culture, that nearly the whole quantity consumed in Europe was raised in that plantation. The productions of the northern colonies being nearly the same with those of Britain, met with no demand from British merchants; but the surplus of grain found a market in Spain and Portugal; provisions and timber were sent to the West Indies; and thence they obtained the means of paying for British manufactures. To New England, also, the fisheries and ship-building were a source of ever-increasing wealth. In New England alone, the value of exports increased from 1700 to 1763, from 86,000*l.*, to 259,000*l.*: while in all the colonies, during the same period, they increased from 343,000*l.* to 1,632,000*l.*

THE END.









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